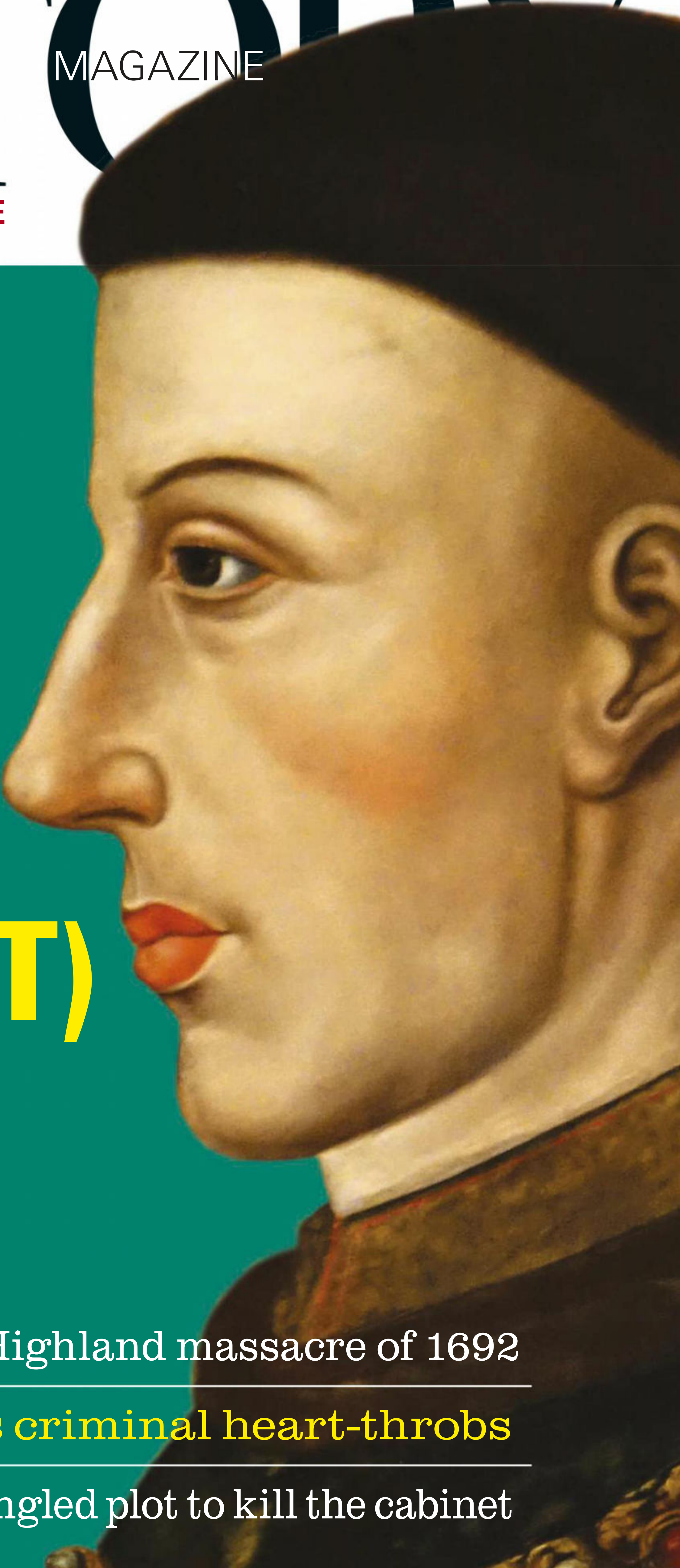
BBC

HOW DARK WERE THE DARK AGES?

GERMANY'S DUNKIRK

HiSTORY
MAGAZINE

BRITAIN'S BESTSELLING HISTORY MAGAZINE
March 2020 / **www.historyextra.com**

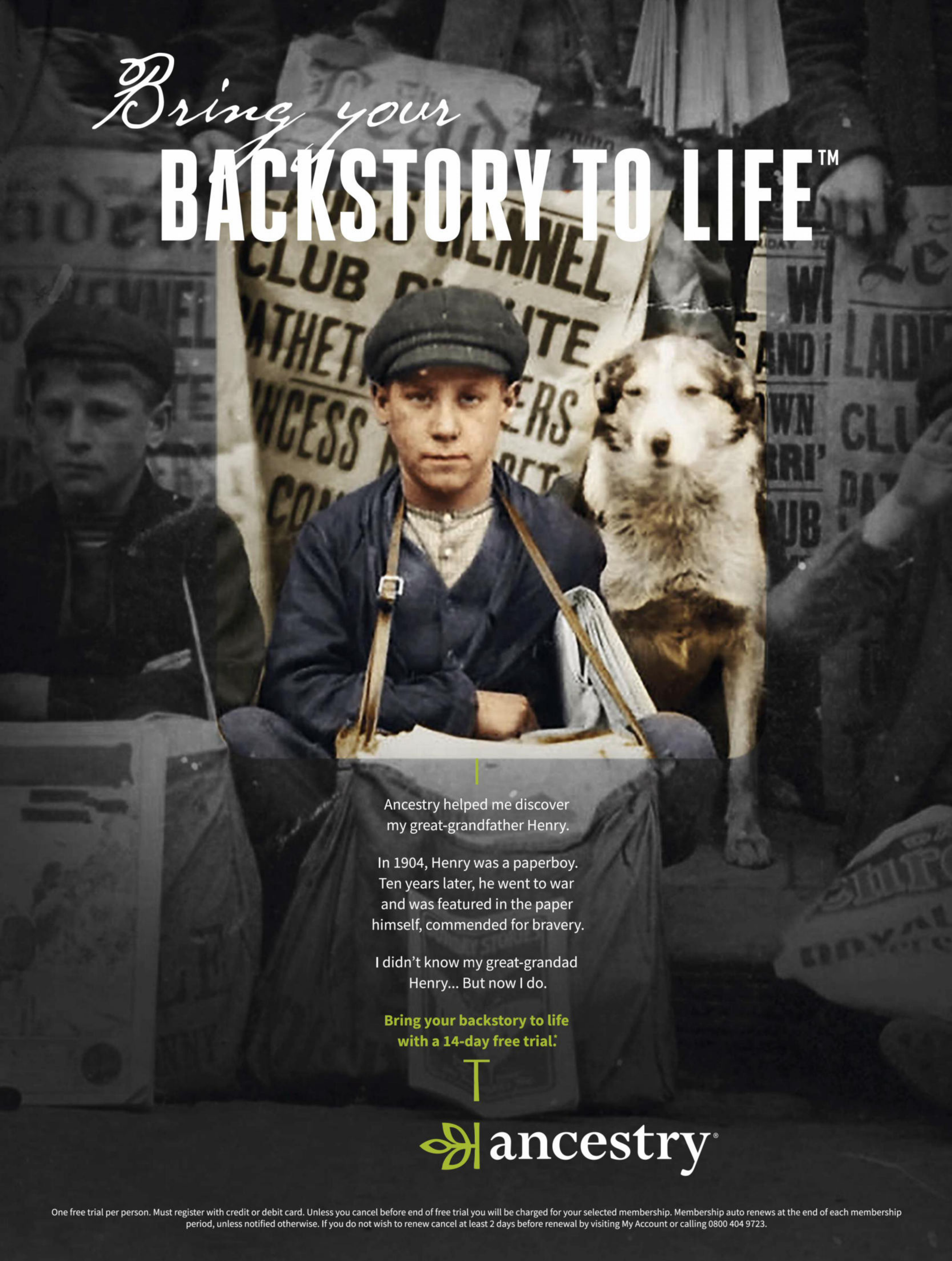


HENRY V'S GREATEST VICTORY (AND IT WASN'T AGINCOURT)

HELL AT GLENCOE The Highland massacre of 1692

CAT BURGLARS 1920s criminal heart-throbs

Georgian terrorists The bungled plot to kill the cabinet



Ancestry helped me discover my great-grandfather Henry.

In 1904, Henry was a paperboy. Ten years later, he went to war and was featured in the paper himself, commended for bravery.

I didn't know my great-grandad Henry... But now I do.

Bring your backstory to life with a 14-day free trial.*

ancestry®

One free trial per person. Must register with credit or debit card. Unless you cancel before end of free trial you will be charged for your selected membership. Membership auto renews at the end of each membership period, unless notified otherwise. If you do not wish to renew cancel at least 2 days before renewal by visiting My Account or calling 0800 404 9723.

WELCOME

BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE

MARCH 2020

“If there’s one thing people know about **Henry V**, it’s that he was a great warrior king, who crushed the French at Agincourt in 1415. But while his military prowess was certainly formidable, his lesser-known achievements in diplomacy and peacemaking were equally impressive. In this month’s cover feature on page 20, Anne Curry reveals how Henry secured astonishing concessions from the king of France 600 years ago with the Treaty of Troyes.

One of the most contested historical terms in recent years has been **‘Dark Ages’**, used to describe the centuries following the end of Roman Britain. Many historians seek to avoid using a phrase that they feel unfairly defines the era as one of obscurity or backwardness. Not everyone agrees though, and, on page 47, Thomas Williams seeks to reclaim ‘Dark Ages’ for the historical lexicon. It’s a provocative take and we’d love to know your thoughts on the matter.

I suspect we’ll also get some correspondence about our interview with Simon Jenkins on **the history of modern Wales** (page 33). Simon, who’s presenting a new BBC radio programme on the topic, doesn’t hold back on why he feels the country has lost its way. His proposed solutions will, I imagine, divide opinion.

Other highlights include the story of a botched **Georgian terrorist plot** (page 40), the origins of the notorious **Glencoe massacre** (page 54), and an exploration of a vast **German evacuation in 1945** that has echoes of the ‘miracle of Dunkirk’ (page 26). Enjoy the issue.

Rob Attar
Editor

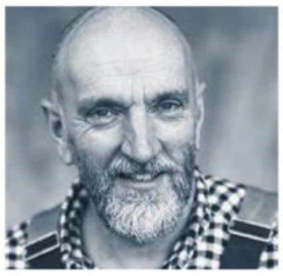
THIS ISSUE’S CONTRIBUTORS

Allan Kennedy

The late 17th century was a tumultuous time across Britain and Ireland, and I have long been fascinated with the impact of these grand events on the marginalised and much-maligned people of the Scottish Highlands. **Allan investigates how the 1692 Glencoe massacre unfolded on page 54**

Eloise Moss

Cat burglars were seen to be both sexy and sinister: “feline fellows” climbing over rooftops by night. I was intrigued by the way they changed people’s feelings about safety in their homes and policing in interwar London. **Eloise examines how cat burglars stole the nation’s hearts on page 61**



Andrew Ziminski

Everywhere you go, you can see that foreign people have had a role to play in the building of Britain. From the Romans to the Normans, the people who built our most impressive monuments have come from all over the world. **Andrew offers an expert’s view on the construction of Britain’s historic structures on page 66**

MORE FROM US

historyextra.com

HOW DARK WERE THE DARK AGES?
GERMANY'S DUNKIRK
HISTORY
HENRY V'S GREATEST VICTORY (AND IT WASN'T AGINCOURT)
HELL AT GLENCOE
CAT BURGLARS
Georgian terrorists

The website of *BBC History Magazine* is filled with exciting content on British and world history.

For more information on the **content in this issue**, go to **historyextra.com/march-2020**

The History Extra podcast

Download episodes for free from iTunes and other providers, or via **historyextra.com/podcast**

Our digital editions

BBC History Magazine is available for the Kindle, Kindle Fire, iPad/iPhone, Google Play and Zinio. Find us in your app store or visit **historyextra.com/subscribe**

Facebook and Twitter

twitter.com/historyextra
facebook.com/historyextra

BBC World Histories

World Histories
AZTECS
in their own words

Save 50%* when you subscribe to the bimonthly global history magazine, produced by the *BBC History Magazine* team. Order at **buysubscriptions.com/WHIP20** or call us on **03330 160708**** quoting WHIP20

Our special editions

Discover our range of collector’s editions at **historyextra.com/special-editions**

Contact us

PHONE **Subscriptions & back issues** 03330 162115 **Editorial** 0117 300 8699

EMAIL **Subscriptions & back issues** bbchistory@buysubscriptions.com
Editorial historymagazine@historyextra.com

POST **Subscriptions & back issues** *BBC History Magazine*, PO Box 3320, 3 Queensbridge, Northampton, NN4 7BF. Basic annual subscription rates: UK: £48, Eire/Europe: £67, ROW: £69
Editorial *BBC History Magazine*, Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited, Eagle House, Colston Avenue, Bristol BS1 4ST

In the **US/Canada** you can contact us at: PO Box 37495, Boone, IA 50037 BHIcustserv@cdsfulfillment.com, britsubs.com/history, Toll-free 800-342-3592

COVER IMAGE: PORTRAIT OF KING HENRY V (15TH CENTURY): ALAMY. THIS PAGE STEVE SAYERS/DAVID HAMPTON

---

* Save 50% offer is available only to UK Direct Debit orders.** Calls from landlines will cost up to 9p per minute. Call charges from mobile phones will cost between 3p and 55p per minute but are included in free call packages. Lines are open 8am–6pm weekdays and 9am–1pm Saturday for orders only

CONTENTS

MARCH 2020

FEATURES

20 Henry V's greatest victory
Anne Curry describes a masterclass of diplomacy that even outshone the English king's triumph at Agincourt

26 Germany's Dunkirk
Nick Hewitt chronicles the evacuation of 2 million people in the face of the advancing Soviet army in 1945

33 A Welsh tragedy?
Simon Jenkins talks to Elinor Evans about a nation's troubled 20th century

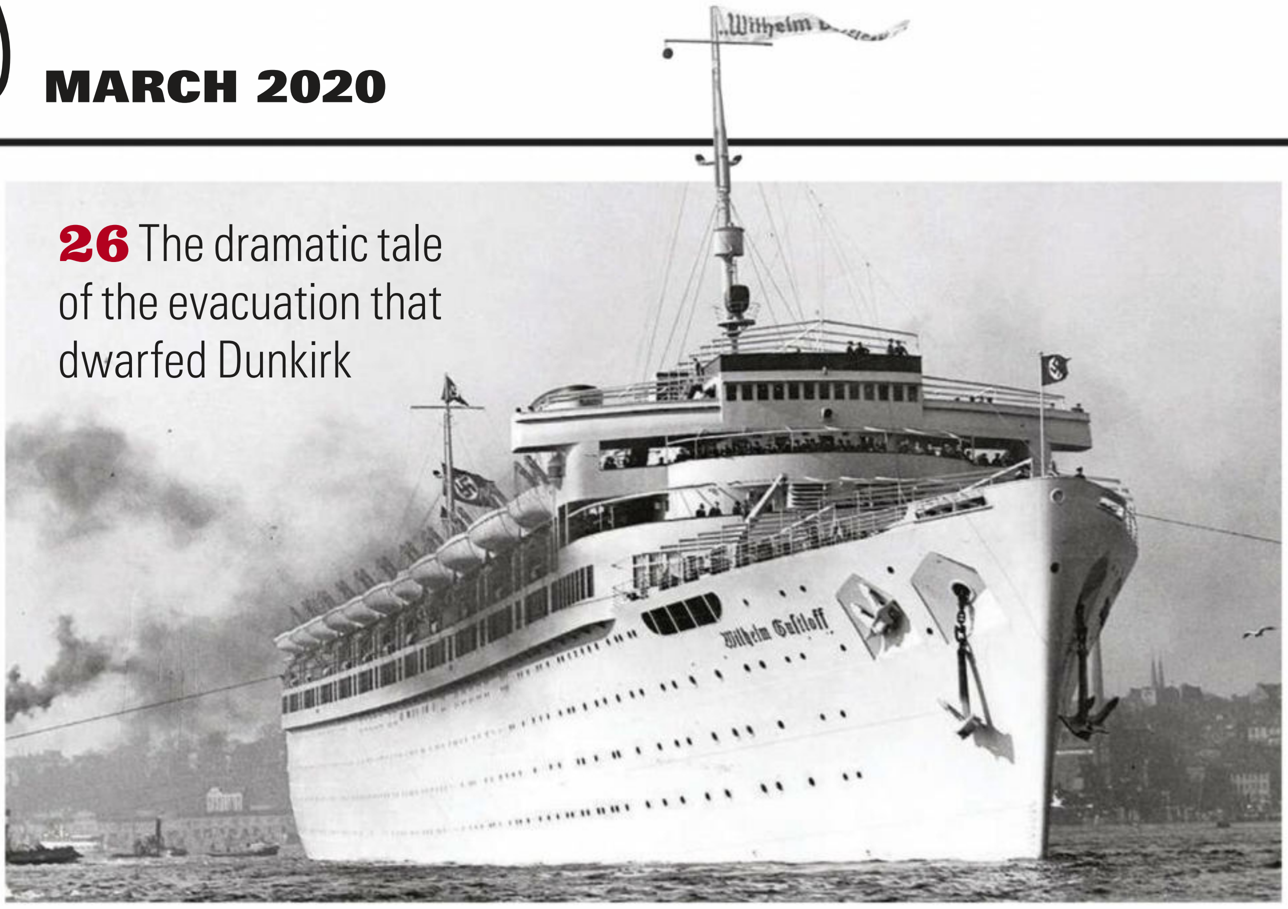
40 Georgian terrorists
Stephen Bates traces the 19th-century plot to butcher the British cabinet

47 The Dark Ages
Thomas Williams considers the shadowy allure of one of history's most obscure eras

54 Hell at Glencoe
What led William III & II to authorise a massacre in the Scottish Highlands? Allan Kennedy examines the evidence

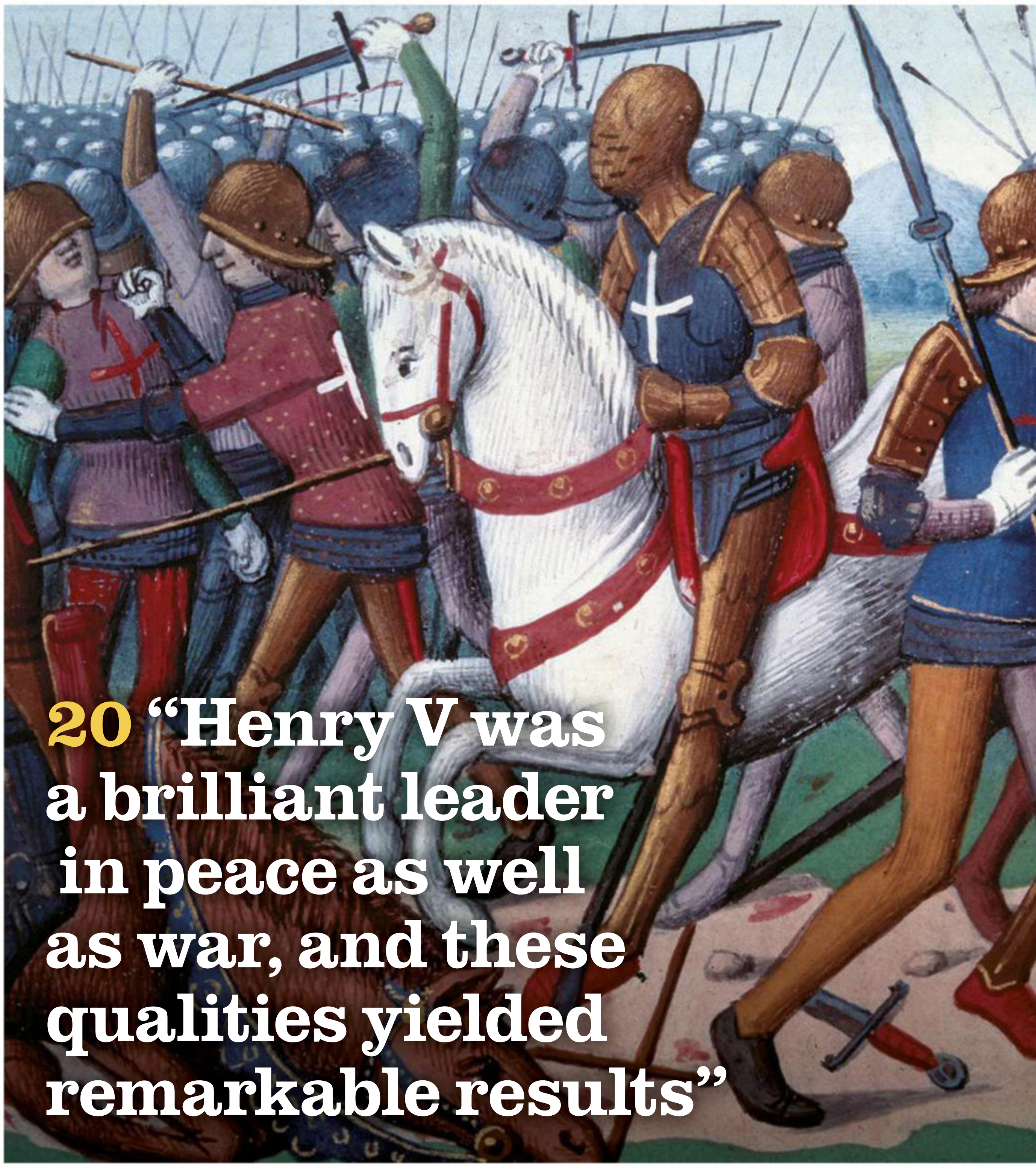
61 The rise of the cat burglar
Eloise Moss on the agile criminals who caused a media sensation in the 1920s

How dark were the Dark Ages? Find out on page 47



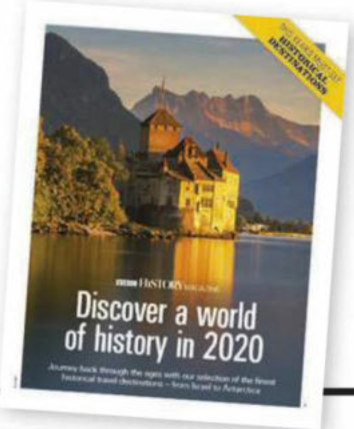
26 The dramatic tale of the evacuation that dwarfed Dunkirk

MARY EVANS/GETTY IMAGES/TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM



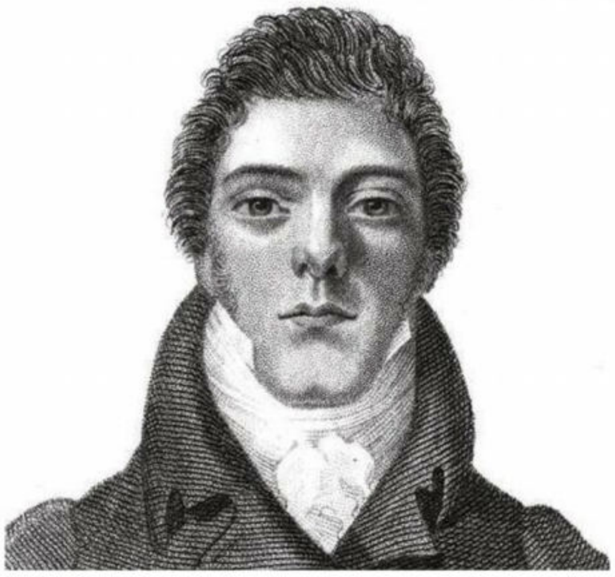
20 "Henry V was a brilliant leader in peace as well as war, and these qualities yielded remarkable results"

FREE INSIDE
Your 24-page **history travel guide** for 2020



61 How cat burglars **terrified – and thrilled –** 1920s Britain

GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY



40 Why Georgian rebels sought to **behead cabinet ministers**

54 Glencoe: **the 1692 massacre** that passed into infamy

33 Why Edward I's war of conquest **continues to cast a shadow** over Wales

EVERY MONTH

This month in history

7 **History news**
11 **Michael Wood** on Brexit
12 **Anniversaries**
16 **David Olusoga's Hidden Histories**

18 **Letters**

52 **Q&A** Your history questions answered

Books

66 **Interview:** Andrew Ziminski discusses his new book on spectacular stone monuments
70 New history **books reviewed**

Encounters

78 **Diary:** What to see and do this month, including TV & radio, food and exhibitions

88 **Prize crossword**

90 **My history hero** Emma Barnett chooses Sylvia Pankhurst

69 History Event
Medieval Life and Death

38 Subscribe

Save when you subscribe today

USPS Identification Statement BBC HISTORY (ISSN 1469-8552) (USPS 024-177) March 2020 is published 13 times a year under licence from BBC Studios by Immediate Media Co Bristol Ltd, Eagle House, Colston Avenue, Bristol BS1 4ST, UK. Distributed in the US by Circulation Specialists, Inc., 2 Corporate Drive, Suite 945, Shelton CT 06484-6238. Periodicals postage paid at Shelton, CT and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE, PO Box 37495, Boone, IA 50037-0495.

REC
9
3
6
RJM
AUTOMATIC
16 15 14
MK IX
PT879

PT879 **RJM** MK IX

BLUEBIRD

LIMITED TO 334 PIECES

OWN A PIECE OF WORLD HISTORY

RECYCLED FROM A 1944 SPITFIRE AIRCRAFT

In the Spring of 1945, a Spitfire aircraft crashed on the Russian tundra during a Dogfight. Her incredible story is captivated in the RJM BLUEBIRD – limited to 334 pieces.

The RJM contains a piece of untreated aluminum cut directly from the Spitfire aircraft MK IX PT879 – showcasing the actual marks and dents of an aerodynamic marvel that helped change the course of history.

The RJM BLUEBIRD honors the design principles of the legendary Spitfire aircraft. In addition to this it features a blue sunburst dial and a blue woven strap as a tribute to the RAF pilots and their famous blue uniform.

REC

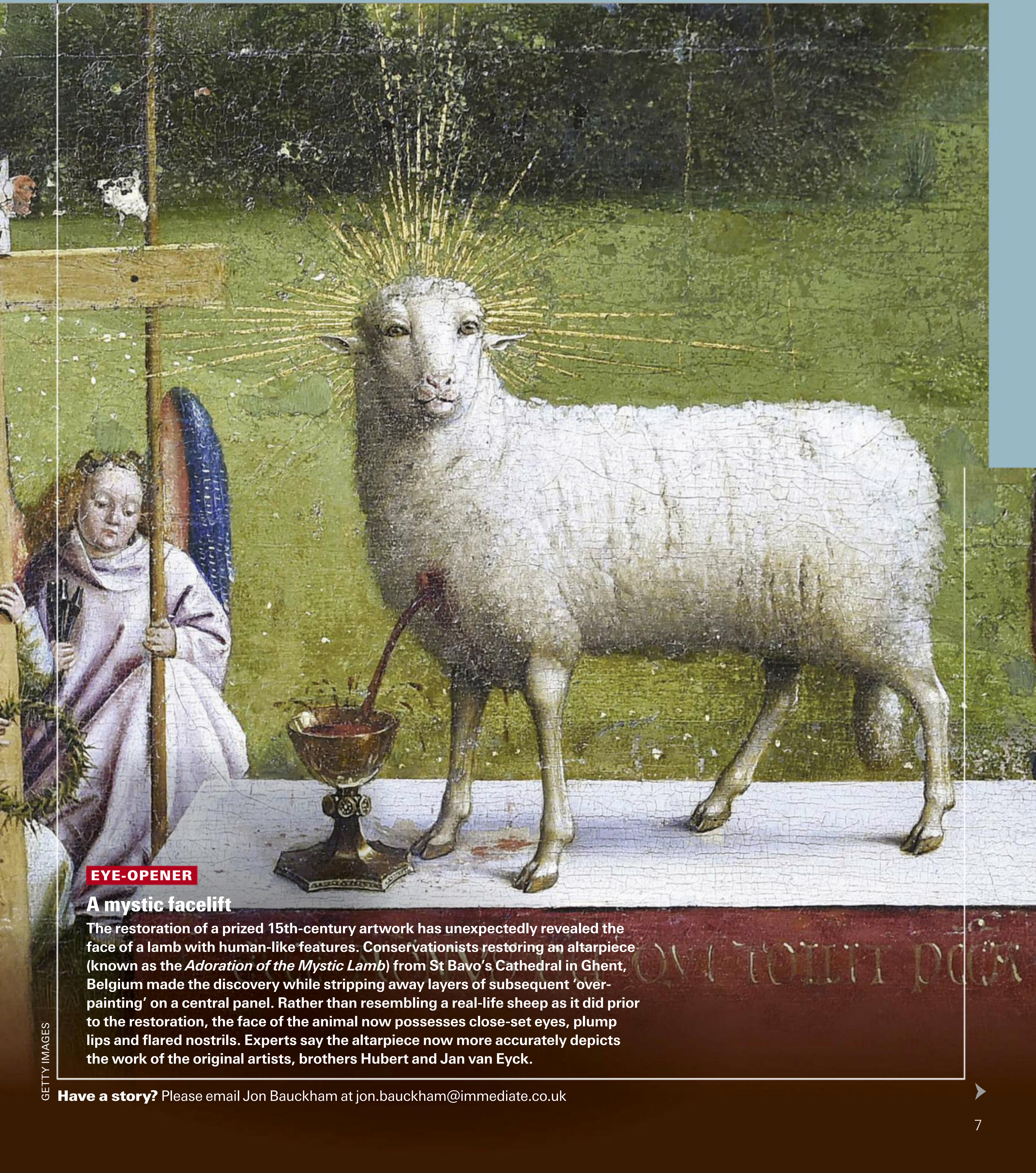
RECWATCHES.COM

RECOVER • **REC**YCLE • **REC**LAIM

REC Watches is a Danish watch brand founded in 2013. We give new life to classic icons recycling vehicles beyond repair into truly unique timepieces. Every single timepiece incorporates recycled parts from the salvaged icon.

NEWS
ANNIVERSARIES
COMMENT

THIS MONTH IN HISTORY



EYE-OPENER

A mystic facelift

The restoration of a prized 15th-century artwork has unexpectedly revealed the face of a lamb with human-like features. Conservationists restoring an altarpiece (known as the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*) from St Bavo's Cathedral in Ghent, Belgium made the discovery while stripping away layers of subsequent 'over-painting' on a central panel. Rather than resembling a real-life sheep as it did prior to the restoration, the face of the animal now possesses close-set eyes, plump lips and flared nostrils. Experts say the altarpiece now more accurately depicts the work of the original artists, brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck.

GETTY IMAGES

Have a story? Please email Jon Bauckham at jon.bauckham@immediate.co.uk

TALKING POINTS

Hollywood vs history

First World War epic *1917* has garnered acclaim for its gripping storytelling and stunning cinematography – but is it accurate? **ANNA WHITELOCK** took to Twitter for the historians' view

While Sam Mendes' latest blockbuster, war epic *1917*, has wowed audiences, won critical plaudits and looks set for Oscar success, some were less convinced. The columnist **Peter Hitchens** (@ClarkeMicah), for instance, described the film as "unhistorical, lightweight piffle".

Yet it was when the outspoken actor Laurence Fox took issue with the inclusion of a Sikh soldier that Twitter erupted, and many historians stepped up to set the record straight and educate him on the vital role that Sikhs played in the war and the many who fought and died.

Others critiqued the film in a rather more informed manner than Fox, discussing its merits and the research underpinning it. In a long and nuanced thread that has been widely commended, **Selena Daly** (@selenadaly) applauded how well the film "reflected many of the key research topics in First World War studies that emerged over the last decade". She proceeded to outline some of these, and in doing so kicked off a very interesting debate and discussion.

Nick Milne (@DrNickMilne) pointed to how the film "pushes against genre conventions in some unexpected ways". He added: "I especially appreciate that the film actually depicts head-on the desolation and suffering of the French and Belgian civilians who found themselves in the path of the war. What we get is only a small vignette, but it stands in for much."

Join the debate at **twitter.com/historyextra**

Elsewhere on Twitter, **Chris Kempshall** (@Chris Kempshall) also reflected on the film in a lengthy thread and concluded: "I think *1917* will prove a useful tool for historians going forwards, if for no other reason than many of our students in the future will have seen it, and this will give us a shared reference point to being able to unwrap the First World War further."

Bryn Hammond (@bryn_hammond) demurred somewhat. "I have a faint hope it might inspire interest in a future generation of First World War historians. It needed Germans as humans, not ciphers, and it needed depth in characterisation. But it had a lot to take the curious beyond the 'mud and futility' portrayal."

And so the debate raged on, raising more questions about the portrayal of the war, the film's supposed 'political correctness' for featuring black Tommies, and the need for accuracy (or not) in Hollywood films.

As **Jessica Meyer** (@thehistorygirl1) put it, "all credit to the film for getting us talking". It certainly did that: history Twitter at its best! H

Anna Whitelock is head of history at Royal Holloway, University of London

> **"It actually depicts the desolation and suffering of French and Belgian civilians in the path of war"**

1917 follows George MacKay (left) and Dean-Charles Chapman as troops tasked with delivering a crucial message

After undergoing a CT scan, the ancient Egyptian priest Nesyamun was able to 'speak' again

ANCIENT EGYPT

Experts recreate mummy's voice

An ancient Egyptian priest has 'spoken' for the first time in 3,000 years thanks to a team of archaeologists and engineers.

Researchers from York and Royal Holloway universities managed to synthesise a vowel sound once made by Nesyamun, a mummy preserved at Leeds City Museum, after printing a 3D model of his vocal tract.

The breakthrough, described in the journal *Scientific Reports*, is the result of a seven-year project. After exploring ways in which technology can be used to create vocal sounds for patients who have lost speech function, researchers realised that similar methods could be applied to mummified remains such as those of Nesyamun, who lived during the reign of Ramses XI (c1104–c1075).

Leeds City Museum arranged for the mummy to undergo a CT scan, allowing experts to create a replica of his vocal tract. This was then attached to a loudspeaker, which played a sound to make the artificial organ 'speak'.

"[This] collaboration has given us the unique opportunity to hear the sound of someone long dead," said Joann Fletcher, honorary visiting professor of archaeology at the University of York. "Its relevance conforms to the ancient Egyptians' fundamental belief that 'to speak the name of the dead is to make them live again'." H

LISTEN You can listen to the **mummy's voice** at *bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-51223828*

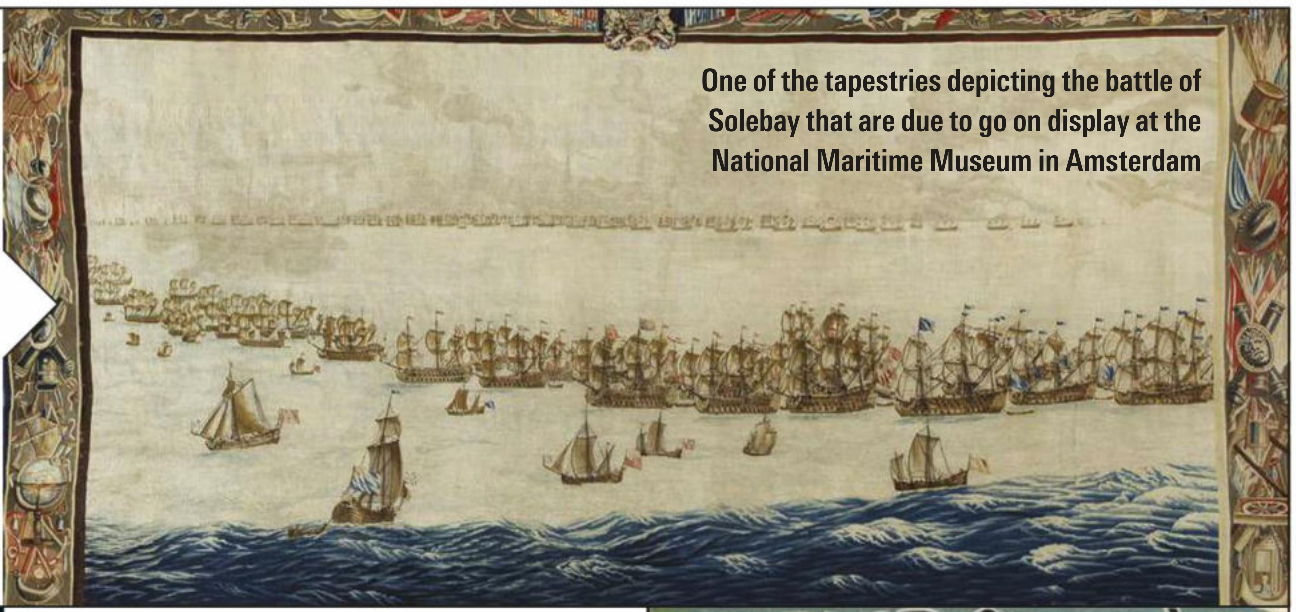
ALAMY/SWNS

HISTORY IN THE NEWS

A selection of the stories hitting the **history headlines**

Museum buys battle tapestries

The National Maritime Museum in the Netherlands has acquired two English tapestries depicting a major sea battle in the Third Anglo-Dutch War. The items, worth a total of €2m (£1.7m), originally formed part of a larger series of works commemorating the battle of Solebay in 1672, when an English and French fleet attacked Dutch ships off the coast of Suffolk. The tapestries were based on drawings made by Willem van de Velde the Elder, who – despite his Dutch origins – was a court painter for Charles II of England.


One of the tapestries depicting the battle of Solebay that are due to go on display at the National Maritime Museum in Amsterdam

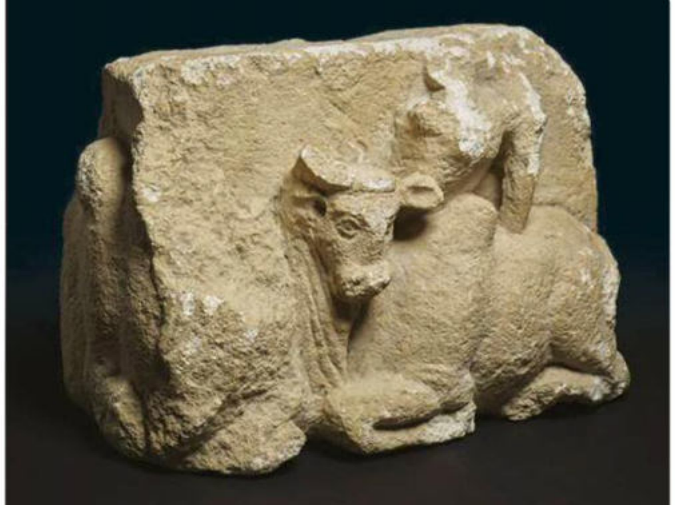
'Missing' sculpture now set to return to Afghanistan

A second-century AD sculpture looted from Afghanistan's National Museum in Kabul is to be repatriated after going astray for more than 20 years.

The carved limestone block, depicting a pair of bulls, was discovered for sale on the website of a British auction house following routine checks by the Art Loss Register. Staff then alerted the Metropolitan Police, which helped facilitate the sculpture's handover from its present owner, who had purchased the item without knowing its true origins.

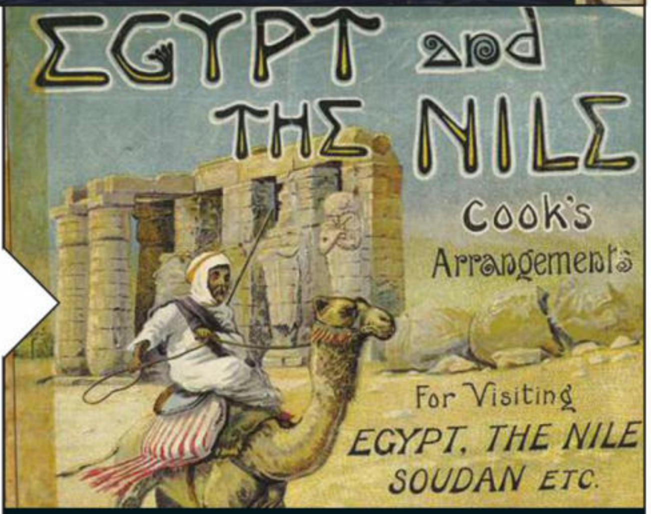
According to experts, the sculpture originally adorned a temple in Surkh Kotal, a settlement in the ancient Kushan empire, which ruled over much of central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. Excavated during the 1950s, the object was stolen during the Afghan civil war (1992–96), before going missing.

The unique item will be exhibited at the British Museum, before being returned to the National Museum in Kabul where it will be placed on permanent public display.

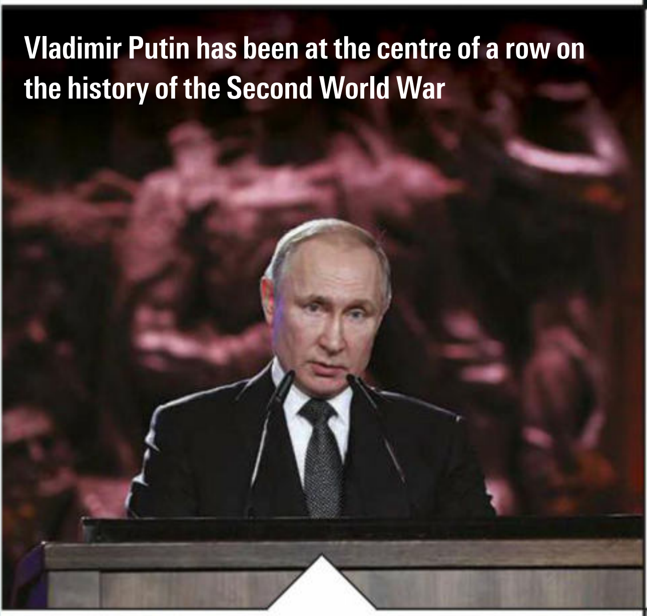

This limestone block once formed part of a temple frieze at Surkh Kotal, now located in Afghanistan

Thomas Cook archive returns

The archive of former travel firm Thomas Cook is to 'return home' to Leicestershire after the county's record office won a bidding process to acquire it. Featuring more than 60,000 photographs, the collection contains material dating back to the company's creation in 1841 by the Leicester entrepreneur of the same name. As well as travel guides and uniforms, the archive includes staff records and minute books. The material will now be catalogued before being made available to researchers.



The Thomas Cook archive – including this guide from 1905 – will eventually be accessible in Leicestershire

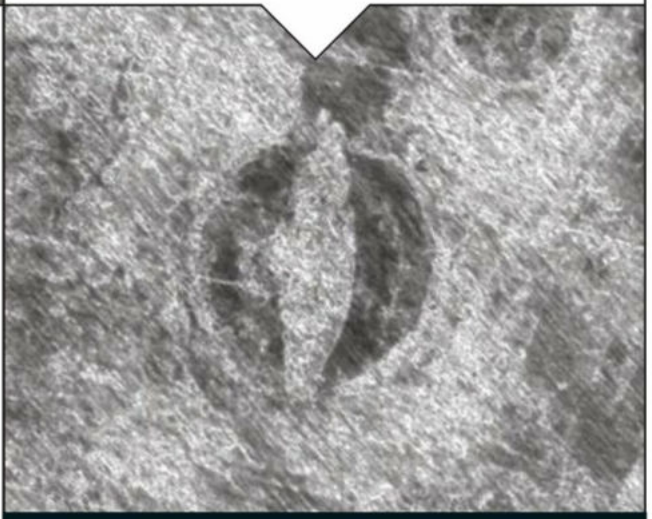

Vladimir Putin has been at the centre of a row on the history of the Second World War

Leaders clash over WWII

A row between Russia and Poland over the causes of the Second World War resulted in the Polish president snubbing a Holocaust memorial event in Israel. Andrzej Duda was reportedly angered that Vladimir Putin had been invited to speak at the Fifth World Holocaust Forum on 23 January, following claims made by the Russian president that Poland had helped cause the war by colluding with Hitler. Duda said he would not attend without being allowed to make his own speech rebuffing Putin. H

Experts confirm ship's origins

The remains of a ship found buried on farmland in south-east Norway date back to the Viking era, scientists have confirmed. Dendrochronological (tree-ring) analysis of the vessel's timbers, first detected by ground-penetrating radar in 2018, reveals that it was most likely constructed in the eighth century. The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage is recommending that the ship be excavated from its burial site near Halden after it was also found to be suffering from extensive fungal damage.


Ground-penetrating radar revealed the remains of a Viking-era ship on farmland in south-east Norway

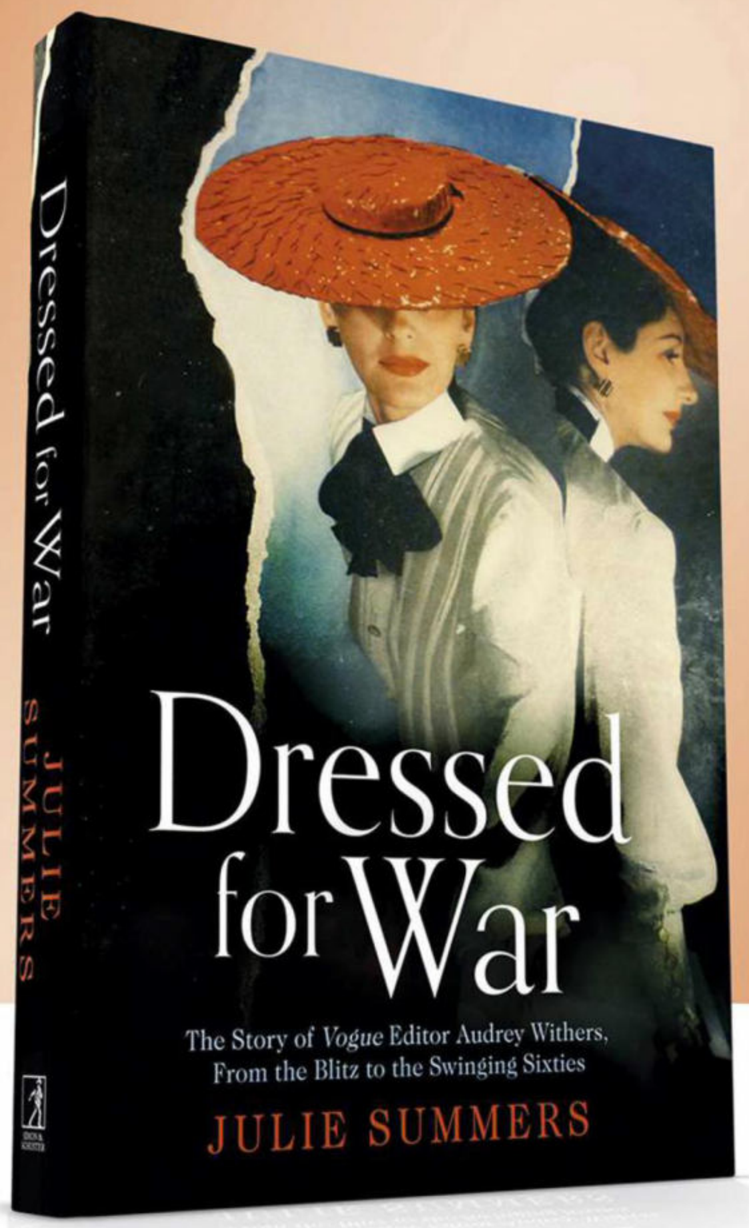
NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM NETHERLANDS/LEICESTERSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL/GETTY IMAGES/ TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM/ NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL RESEARCH

FROM THE AUTHOR OF *JAMBUSTERS*

Dressed for War

The remarkable story of *Vogue* editor Audrey Withers, who redefined the magazine amid the ruins of Blitz-ravaged London

Out now in hardback


Dressed for War
JULIE SUMMERS
Dressed for War
The Story of *Vogue* Editor Audrey Withers, From the Blitz to the Swinging Sixties
JULIE SUMMERS

Available from
Waterstones

Pearson

Join our Assessment Associate Team

Pearson have exciting opportunities for **History Teachers** to become **Examiners** for our **GCSE** and **GCE A Level** qualifications.

This is a great opportunity for teachers across the UK who are currently teaching or recently retired. **Applicants will hold at least one year's full time teaching experience in GCSE or GCE A Level History**.

If you are passionate and keen to explore new approaches to teaching your subject, while earning extra money in a flexible part-time role, **join our Assessment Associate team Today!**

For more information and how to apply, please visit our website **associate.pearson.com**

Illustration by Tang Yau Hoong

MICHAEL WOOD ON…
LEAVING THE EU

"Could Brexit spell an end to Britain's history of soft power?"

On 17 July 1897, shortly after Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, *The Times* published an extraordinary poem, on the same page as the queen's letter to the people expressing gratitude for the surge of public affection. The poem was written by Rudyard Kipling. Its title was *Recessional*, referring to the hymn sung at the end of a church service, when clergy and choir withdraw. With its intimations of imperial decline, the mood was hardly triumphant:

Far-called our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire:
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!

In his covering letter to *The Times*, Kipling had written: "We've been blowing up the trumpets… a little too much for White Men, and it's about time we sobered down." He concluded the stanza, in a strangely anxious tone, "Lest we forget!" – urging the nation to remember the source of its success in true, God-fearing humility.

Over Victorian breakfast tables, the readership was split. Some were furious at its lack of patriotism, but the overwhelming reaction was positive: it was a masterpiece – and a warning that "went home to all our hearts", in the words of the author Walter Besant.

I thought of that poem in the new year, as the UK prepared to leave the European Union after nearly half a century. It feels already like a key moment in our history. In 1897, the empire was not yet at its apogee (it reached its greatest size in the 1920s), but signs were already there of decline. So how will historians see the events of 2020?

For clues, I turned to the foreign press. Journalism, after all, is the first draft of history, and foreigners, from Alexis de Tocqueville to Hippolyte Taine to François Bédarida, have often been the most perceptive commentators on the British. A pattern quickly emerged, especially in countries with experience of British rule. From *The New York Times* to the *South China Morning Post*, the mood was of disbelief – and schadenfreude. *The Times of India* headline was "Karma calling? Country that used divide-and-rule split over Brexit." The referendum had "fundamentally challenged" Britain's view of itself in the world. Indeed, the view from Delhi was that Britain could "no longer claim to be a champion of liberal values, as Brexit was primarily driven by a desire to keep out foreigners and take back control of immigration". More disturbing still was the suggestion that Britain might even cease to be a progressive force in the world. Its soft power, its "cultural, institutional and ideological attractiveness" – the very thing that (no less than its military and commercial clout) had put Britain at the forefront of progress over the last two centuries – was now under threat. English as the lingua franca for science, diplomacy, finance and political theory, as crucible for progressive ideas about democracy, human rights and multiculturalism – now "all that is coming apart".

My trawl of the foreign press was turning into a chastening read. For Pankaj Mishra in *The New York Times*, the British ruling class who had blithely drawn their artificial borders from India to Ireland and from Iraq to Nigeria, cutting across ancient identities and allegiances, were getting a taste of their own medicine. Now, with dramatic suddenness, they were being forced to look again at their own historic divisions, such as the 1707 union between England and Scotland and the 1921 partition of Ireland. After 1707, the different nations of the British Isles had been recast as Britons, who would go out and make the empire on which the sun never set, confident not just in their might, but in their language and culture. But now, for these foreign commentators, Brexit was not only a matter of needlessly quitting the world's largest trading bloc, but "an act of moral dereliction" by a ruling class lost in nostalgia – for the Indians a parallel to our shameful flight from their country in 1947.

My sample was admittedly only a quick one. But for the outside world, the issue was not chiefly about economics and standard of living but about ethos. Economic decline is quantifiable, but the loss of 'group feeling' is another question, as the historians Ibn Khaldun and Edward Gibbon both observed. Britain's status as a world power has continued for the last 70 years in part through its soft power. Maybe, then, 2020 will mark a real moment. I hope the commentators are wrong, and that they underestimate the resourcefulness of the British peoples. But, as Kipling wrote in 1897: "Lest we forget…"

Michael Wood is professor of public history at the University of Manchester. He has presented numerous BBC series, and his books include *The Story of England* (Viking, 2010)

ILLUSTRATION BY **FEMKE DE JONG**

ANNIVERSARIES

DOMINIC SANDBROOK highlights events that took place in March in history

29 MARCH 845

Norse warriors sack Paris

The raiders force the Frankish king to pay a vast bribe

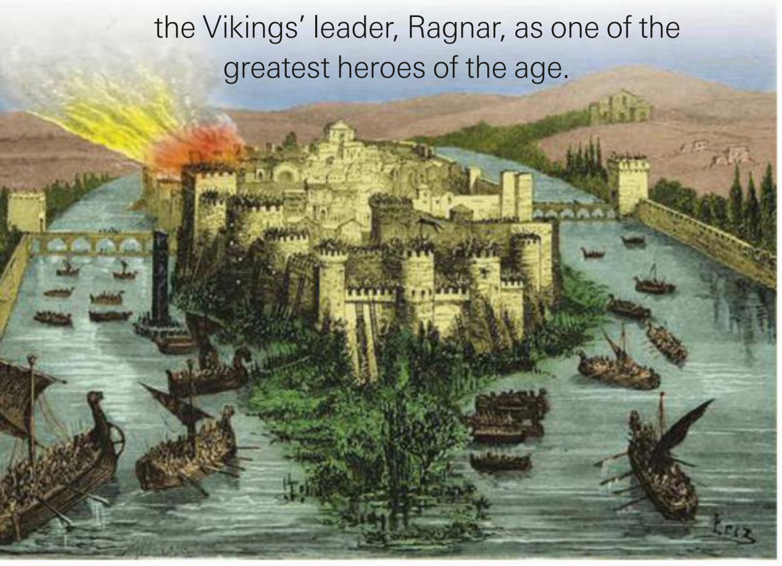
In the ninth century, a terrible nightmare haunted the people along the shores of north-western Europe. It began with a sail, far out to sea; then came the longships, the Northmen with their swords and axes, the blood, the screaming, the terror.

Even the greatest realm of the age, the kingdom of West Francia, was not immune. In the 830s and early 840s, the Northmen launched punishing raids on towns that included Antwerp, Rouen and Nantes. And then, in March 845, came the greatest raid of all. Some 120 Viking ships entered the Seine on the coast of modern-day Normandy. Aboard were around 5,000 warriors, armed to the teeth.

The Frankish king, Charles the Bald, reacted swiftly, stationing men on either side of the Seine. To his horror, the Vikings simply picked off the smaller garrison, taking more than 100 prisoners and hanging them before their horrified comrades. Then they headed for Paris.

According to legend, the Vikings landed on Easter Sunday, 29 March, a single bell rousing the city's people with the terrible news. There was no point resisting. Indeed, Charles had long since disappeared. Even an outbreak of disease among the Vikings did not deter them, although it did kill perhaps 600. In the end, Charles only persuaded them to leave the city after handing over a bribe of 7,000 pounds of silver.

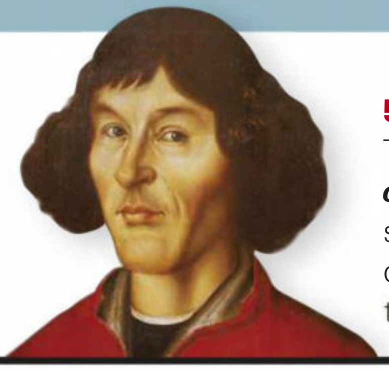
No wonder the Norse bards remembered the Vikings' leader, Ragnar, as one of the greatest heroes of the age.



Viking longboats descend on the Seine to attack Paris

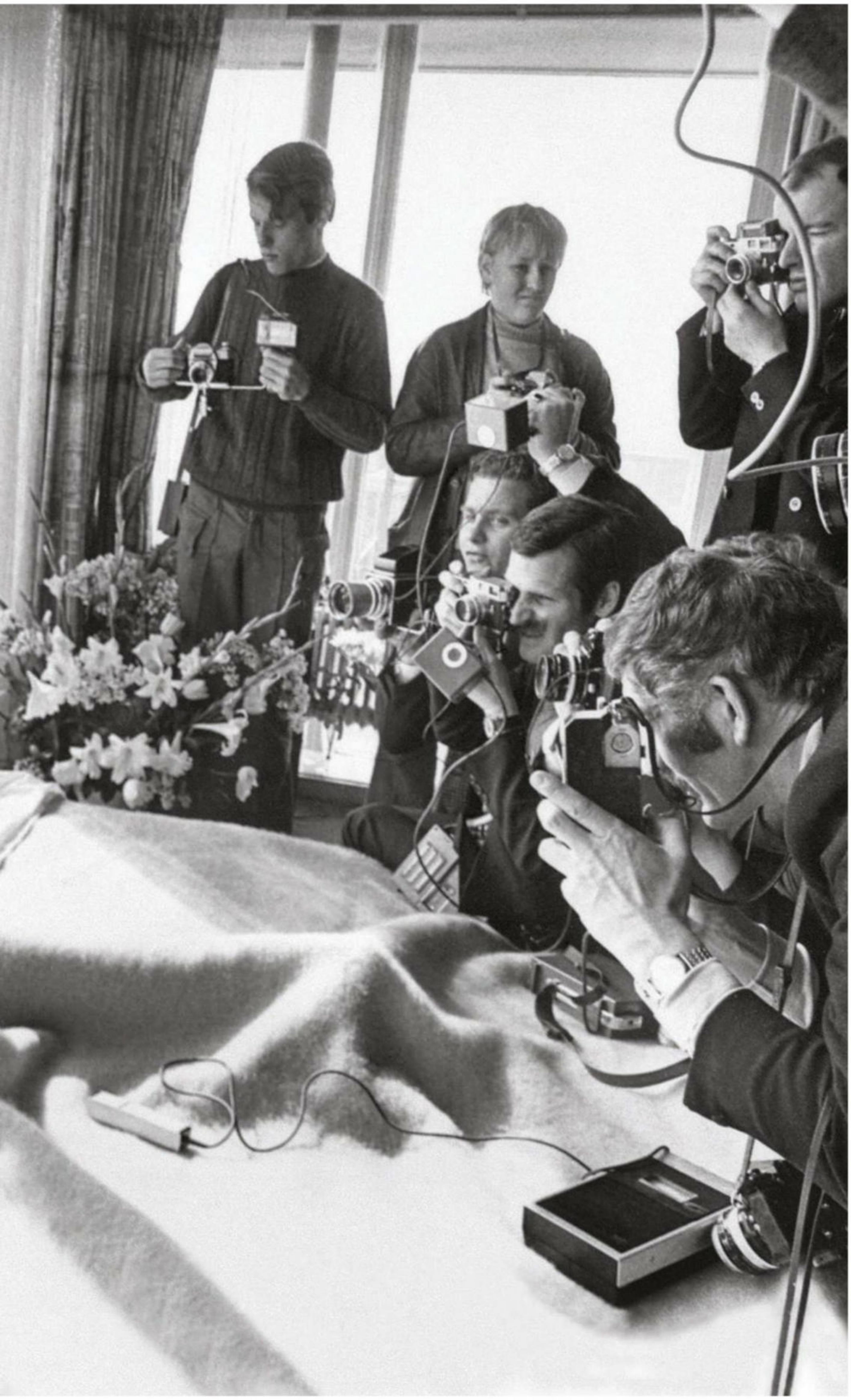
In the name of global peace, John Lennon and Yoko Ono invite journalists to witness their honeymoon 'bed-in' at Amsterdam's Hilton Hotel on 25 March 1969

BRIDGEMAN/GETTY IMAGES



5 MARCH 1616

The Vatican condemns ***On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres***, by Copernicus (left), saying it propounds "the false Pythagorean doctrine… contrary to the Holy Scripture, that the earth moves and the sun is motionless".



25 MARCH 1969

John and Yoko stage a 'bed-in'

Honeymoon stunt aims to bring an end to the Vietnam War

In the spring of 1969, Vietnam had been at war for almost a quarter of a century. Millions of people had been killed, and more than 500,000 American troops were still bogged down in the Indochinese jungles. But was an end coming into view? The date was 25 March 1969, and John Lennon and Yoko Ono thought they had the solution to the ongoing crisis.

Having married five days earlier, the couple were convinced that they could use their fame to bring peace to south-east Asia. Since Lennon was still a member of the Beatles, the world's most successful pop group, everything they did fascinated the media. So before the newlyweds arrived at the Hilton, Amsterdam, they sent invitations to the press: "Come to John and Yoko's honeymoon: a bed-in, Amsterdam Hotel."

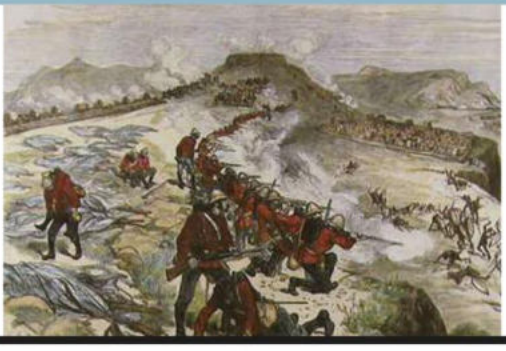
When the reporters duly appeared, they were shown up to room 902, the presidential suite. There they found Lennon and Ono in pyjamas "like two angels in bed, with flowers all around us, and peace and love on our heads", as the former remembered. Above them were handwritten signs, reading "Hair Peace" and "Bed Peace". Lennon and Ono talked about how much they liked peace. Other people, they said earnestly, ought to recognise how nice peace was, too.

Unfortunately, some of the reporters were too cynical to grasp how profound this was. So Ono disclosed her plan to bring conflict to an end. Soldiers, she said, should "let their pants down. They would not feel like making war then – they would look ridiculous". But as Britain's bestselling paper, the *Daily Mirror* acknowledged, the pair were fully prepared for ridicule. The papers thought they looked even more ridiculous the next day, when the hotel maid, Maria de Soledade Alves, awkward and embarrassed in front of the cameras, had to turf them out of bed to change the sheets.

As it turned out, the war in Vietnam would last for another six years.

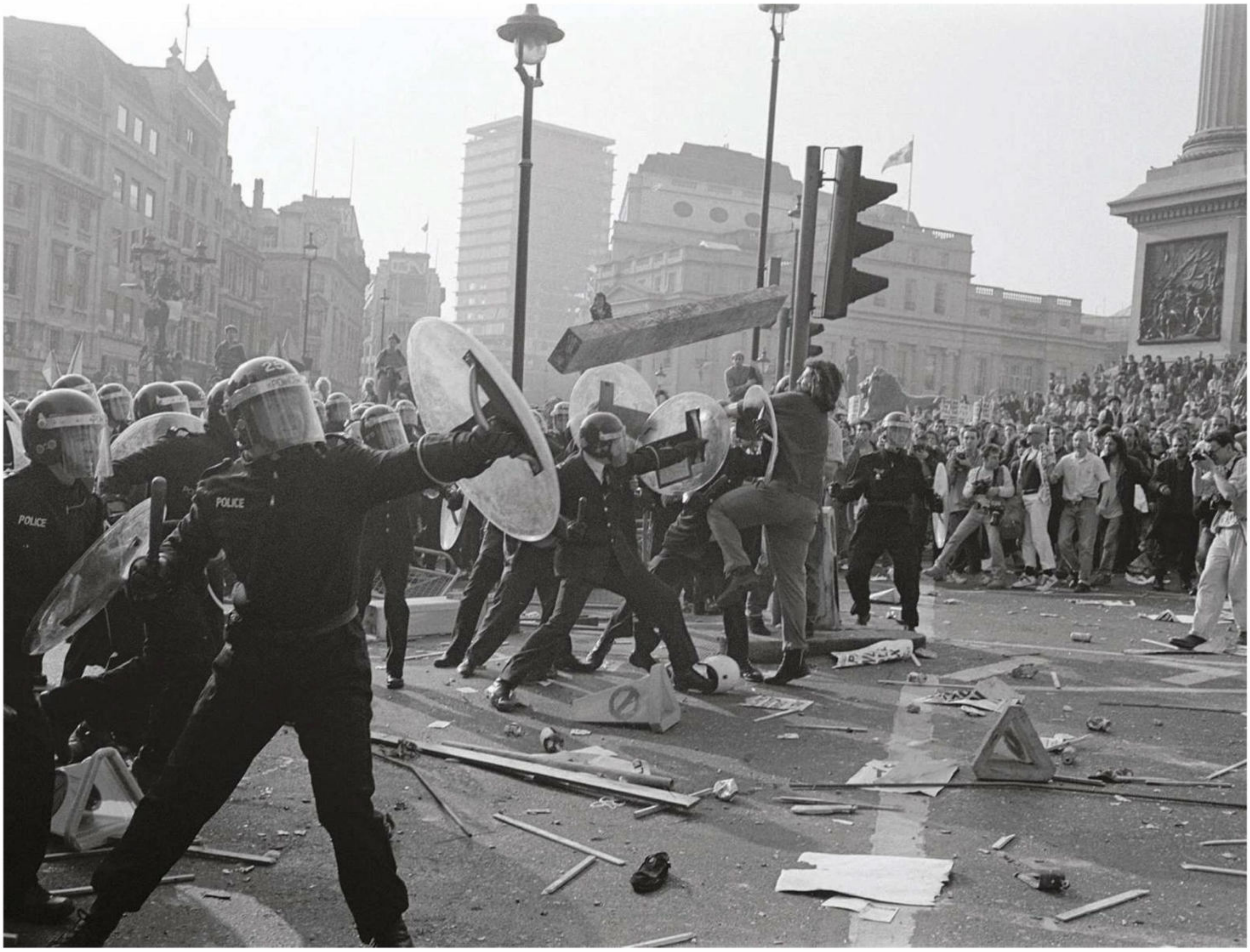
29 MARCH 1879

In Kambula, South Africa, some 2,000 British troops use superior firepower to overcome a Zulu army 10 times larger, losing just 29 men but killing hundreds. **The Zulus' morale is broken**. Their army begins to disintegrate, and a British victory becomes inevitable.



1 MARCH 509 BC

After defeating **exiled king Tarquin the Proud**, aristocrat Publius Valerius Publicola celebrates the **first official 'triumph'** in the history of the Roman republic, riding through the city in a fine chariot. For centuries, generals copy his example.



Police and demonstrators clash in Trafalgar Square during the poll tax riots of March 1990. Some 113 people were injured after the protests turned violent

31 MARCH 1990

Poll tax rally turns ugly

Violence erupts in London

When London awoke on Saturday 31 March 1990, it was clear it was going to be a lovely day. By 11am, demonstrators were gathering in south London to march to Trafalgar Square for a rally against the government's controversial new plan for local government finance – the Community Charge, known as the poll tax. After almost 11 years under Thatcher and three election defeats, some of her critics were itching for revenge.

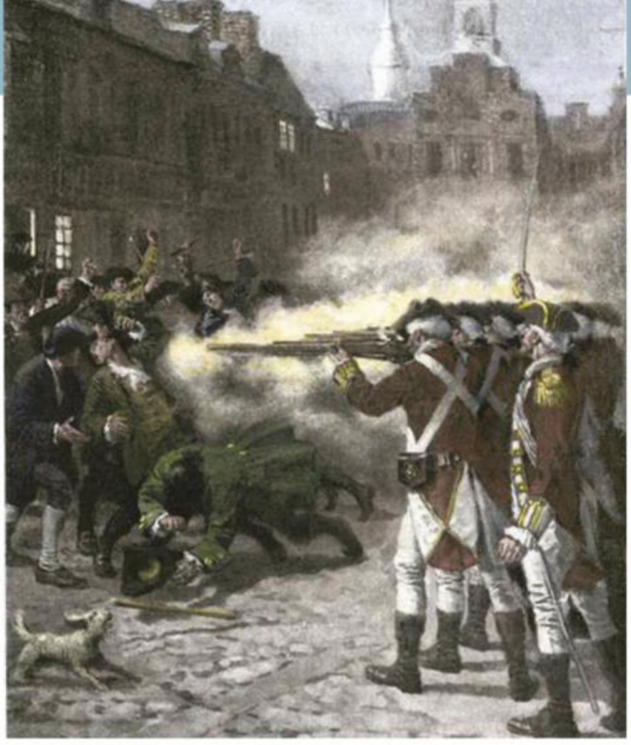
The All Britain Anti-Poll Tax Federation, which organised the march, had been established some months earlier by an alliance of far-left groups, notably the Militant Tendency. But opposition to the poll tax went far and wide, and was especially intense in Tory shires where elderly householders had been horrified by their new tax bills. And, by two that afternoon, it was obvious that the crowds were greater than anybody had anticipated.

The trouble started at around 3pm, when police tried to shut off access to Whitehall. Some people sat down, refused to move and were arrested. Shortly after 4pm came the first clashes between police and crowds. Missiles began flying; then came the first reports of trouble spilling into nearby Charing Cross Road, Regent Street and Pall Mall.

The riot spilled out of control. Some people, wearing masks and scarves, attacked police vans with poles. Others climbed scaffolding and rained down bricks and stones on the police below. Protesters set fire to some builders' cabins, sending clouds of smoke billowing across Trafalgar Square. The police managed to push the crowd north, but small groups of masked activists took the chance to run amok, burning cars and looting shops in the west end.

In all, 113 people were injured and 339 arrested. For the government, the publicity was dreadful. "Nothing warrants this," Mrs Thatcher said the next day, visibly angry. "These people are against democracy."

GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY



Red-coated British troops fire at civilians in what would become known as the Boston Massacre

ALAMY/AKG-IMAGES

5 MARCH 1770

Bloodshed in Boston

Soldiers who shoot on crowd escape harsh punishment

At the beginning of 1770, the mood in Boston was extraordinarily tense. For two years, amid deteriorating relations between the colonies and the crown, British troops had been stationed in the American city. On the evening of 5 March, things turned ugly.

The trouble started when an apprentice goaded a British officer, John Goldfinch, outside the city's customs house, claiming (wrongly) he had not settled his bills. Another soldier told the apprentice to stop, then Goldfinch cuffed him with his musket. A small crowd gathered, described by the American lawyer and future president John Adams as "a motley rabble".

As the evening drew on, the mob began to harass the soldiers, hurling snowballs, spitting and throwing small missiles. At last, one private was hit, dropped his musket, retrieved it and then fired a warning shot. At that, an innkeeper hit him with a stick. Surrounded and frightened, the soldiers fired into the crowd.

Three people were killed instantly, another two died later. American legend remembers it as the Boston Massacre. But when the soldiers came before a jury, six were acquitted and the other two given only light sentences. For, as Adams argued in their defence, they had only fired after intense provocation. Their conviction "would have been as foul a stain upon this country as the executions of the Quakers or Witches, anciently. As the evidence was, the verdict of the jury was exactly right." **H**

Dominic Sandbrook is a historian, author and broadcaster. His latest book is *Who Dares Wins: Britain, 1979–1982* (Allen Lane, 2019)

WHY WE SHOULD REMEMBER. . .

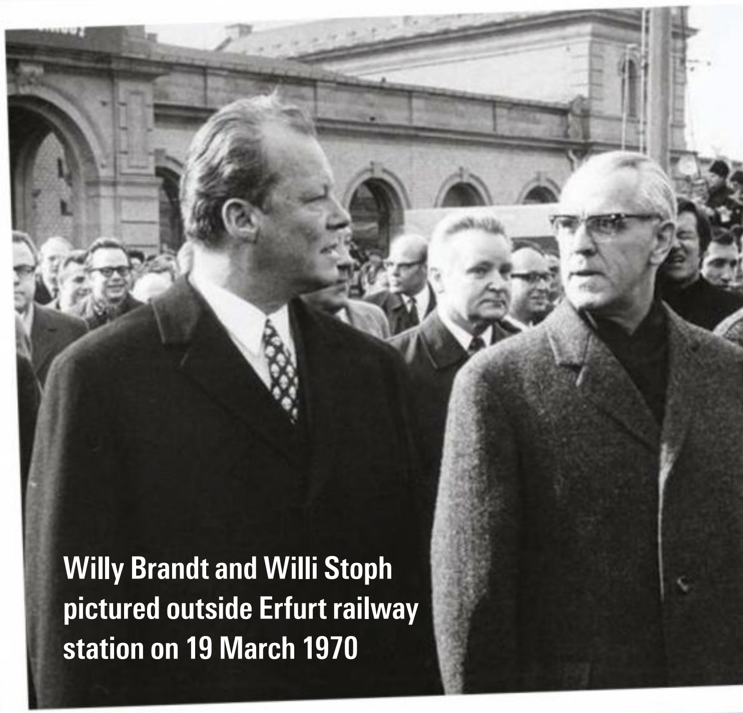
Willy Brandt and Willi Stoph begin to thaw the Cold War

BY **BENEDIKT SCHOENBORN**

Fifty years ago, on 19 March 1970 at 7.31am, West Germany's chancellor, Willy Brandt, crossed the 'death-zone' at the German-German border on a special train, en route to Erfurt for a one-day conference with the East German prime minister, Willi Stoph. It was the first-ever meeting of East and West German heads of government. From 9.30am until 10.25pm, the two men and their large delegations faced off, listening tensely and silently to each other's declarations, which differed radically on virtually every point. During the breaks, Stoph and Brandt made courteous efforts to sustain a stilted conversation. To the embarrassment of the hosts, outside an enthusiastic East German crowd spontaneously chanted Brandt's name and dispersed only after the West German guest acknowledged them at a window. The formalities concluded with a non-committal statement.

The two parties had travelled to the meeting with conflicting agendas. The West German side was keen to create permanent points of contact across the Iron Curtain at all levels and to transform the Cold War antagonism in the long term. Meanwhile, the East German side feared 'infiltration' by its more powerful neighbour and had consented to meet only due to Soviet pressure. Accordingly, the only immediate result was another conference two months later in Kassel, when Stoph and Brandt could not even agree on a joint statement for the press. But, importantly, their less formal one-to-one meetings had revealed a common interest in widening trade relations and discussing practical matters such as traffic and postal services.

> **"** The Erfurt summit revealed unarticulated feelings of grassroots solidarity **"**



Willy Brandt and Willi Stoph pictured outside Erfurt railway station on 19 March 1970

Some time therefore elapsed before the positive effects of 19 March 1970 manifested – and mostly at lower levels than that of the top leaders. In late 1970, East and West German officials engaged in tedious but eventually successful negotiations, which in 1972 led to the signing of the Traffic Treaty and the Basic Treaty. Even though political antagonism persisted, these two treaties institutionalised permanent exchange and facilitated travel across the Iron Curtain.

The Erfurt summit had also revealed hitherto unarticulated feelings of grassroots solidarity. Thousands of East Germans had expressed their support as Brandt's train rode by: countryfolk waving in fields, women brandishing bed sheets from balconies and assembled factory workers greeting the leader of the 'class enemy', who watched with tears in his eyes. Such feelings of German togetherness were sustained until the end of the Cold War, and in 1990 found expression in the East German decision for reunification. Seen in this light, a novel political initiative that aimed to transform deep-seated antagonism in the long term is well worth remembering. **H**

Benedikt Schoenborn is an associate professor at Tampere University, Finland. His next book is *Reconciliation Road: Willy Brandt, Ostpolitik and the Quest for European Peace* (Berghahn, 2020)

HIDDEN HISTORIES

DAVID OLUSOGA explores lesser-known stories from our past

"Titus Salt saw some wool rotting in a corner. It would make his fortune"

On 20 September 1853, Titus Salt threw a party to celebrate his 50th birthday. He invited more than 3,500 guests and laid on special trains to transport them to the event. There they feasted on four hindquarters of beef, 120 legs of mutton, 60 grouse, 320 plum puddings and 100 jellies, among other delights. The venue for this enormous party was a textile mill, and 2,440 of the guests were Titus Salt's employees. This was because the party was also the grand opening of 'Saltaire', the new mill that Salt had constructed on the banks of the river Aire, a few miles north of Bradford. It was then the largest factory in Europe, having been built at a cost of over £100,000 (more than £13m in today's money). At its prime, it was capable of producing 18 miles of cloth a day, on 1,200 looms that were operated by thousands of workers.

Today, Titus Salt is not primarily remembered as a wealthy mill owner, or for his lavish birthday party, but for his work as a social reformer. This is because, shortly after production started at the Saltaire mill, he began building a model village on the same site. Most of Salt's workers were then living in overcrowded and insanitary conditions in Bradford. Over the next 20 years he built more than 800 homes for them, in a self-contained community complete with shops, schools, libraries, churches and an infirmary. These houses, which are still occupied today, are Salt's greatest legacy. What is less well known is how Salt, a man of modest origins, built his enormous fortune.

In the 1820s, Salt's father had become a wool trader, just as textile manufacturing in Bradford was taking off. Titus, having served an apprenticeship with another wool merchant, joined his father's trading firm. The reason the Salt family did not remain obscure Bradford wool traders is because of Titus's curiosity and inventiveness. He began experimenting with cheap imported wools, seeking to discover if they might be converted into commercially viable threads for clothing. This required him to make the move from merely trading in wool to manufacturing thread and cloth.

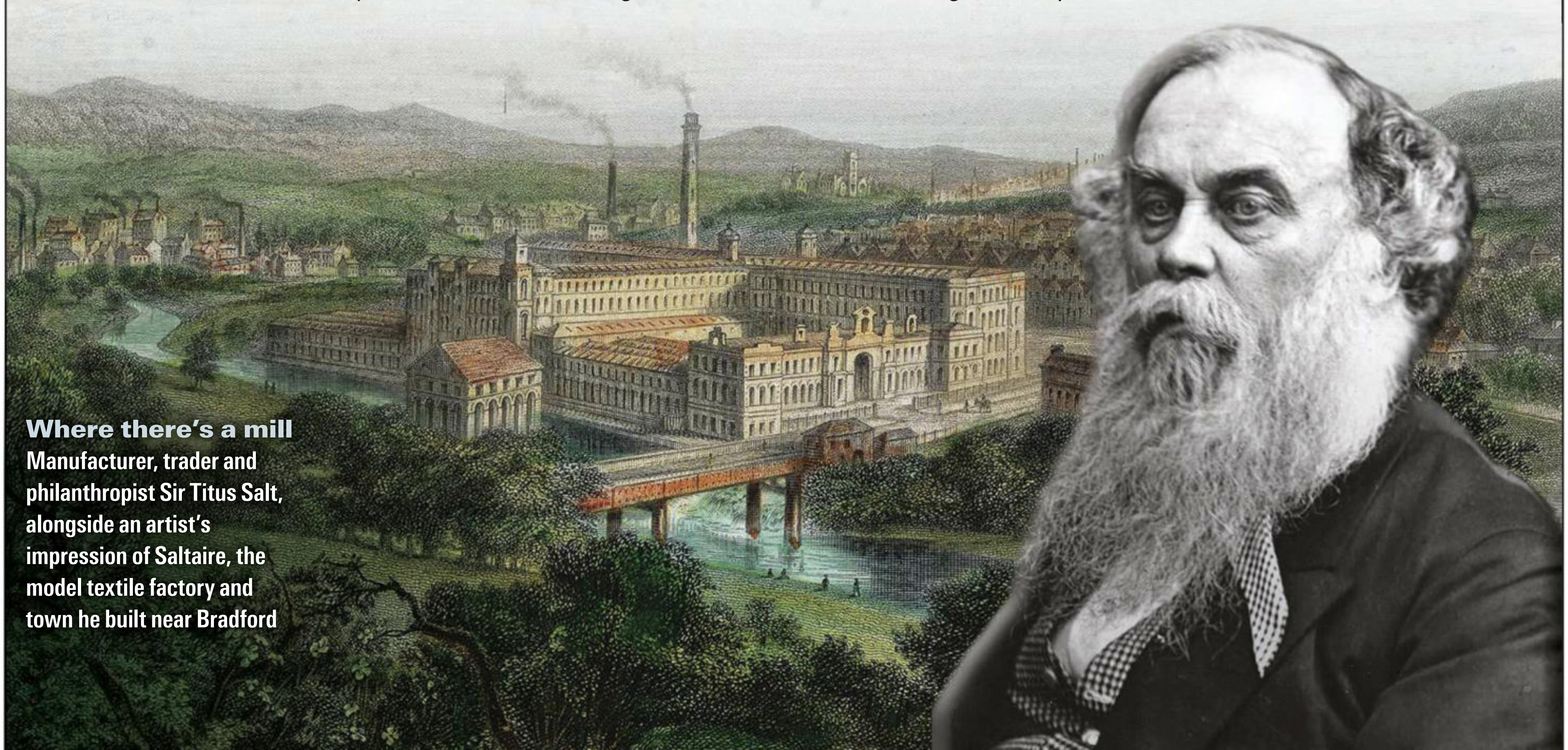
First, he developed a method that enabled him to use coarse Russian Donskoi wool to make fabric. Then, on a business trip to Liverpool in 1836, he encountered a type of wool that would transform the family business. In the corner of a warehouse, Salt saw hundreds of bales of an unfamiliar fibre. They were dirty and had lain unsold for some time. They contained the wool of the Peruvian alpaca, a creature few in Britain had heard of at the time.

Salt took a sample back to Bradford, where he combed and cleaned the long fibres, revealing a strong, glossy wool that he believed could be spun into a thread from which fabrics could be produced. Against the advice of his father, he returned to Liverpool and purchased all 300 bales of the mouldering alpaca wool at a bargain price. In the following months he developed the machinery required to work alpaca wool. The results were beautiful fabrics, much lighter in weight than sheep's wool. Woven with silk, it produced lustrous and luxurious material that appealed to the most wealthy and fashionable in society. Woven with cotton, it produced a durable and affordable cloth. The versatility of alpaca fabrics meant they found favour with drapers and their customers across the country.

The alpaca made Titus Salt the wealthiest man in Bradford. The profits allowed him to combine all his operations in the giant mill at Saltaire and begin work on his model village – and thereby, in his own words, "do good to my fellow men". H

David Olusoga is professor of public history at the University of Manchester, and the presenter of several BBC documentaries

BBC



Where there's a mill
Manufacturer, trader and philanthropist Sir Titus Salt, alongside an artist's impression of Saltaire, the model textile factory and town he built near Bradford

GETTY IMAGES

ADVERTISEMENT FEATURE

A heartfelt legacy

After losing several family members to cancer, Jutlla has found hope by helping Cancer Research UK beat the disease

With his kind, beaming smile, you'd never guess how much Jutlla's life has been touched by cancer. But having lost so many loved ones to the disease, he has found solace in helping Cancer Research UK through volunteering and donations. Cancer Research UK is really helping to improve cancer survival rates, funding more than 4,000 scientists, doctors and nurses, so Jutlla's efforts have had an amazing impact.

Now, with another small but important act, he is helping the charity continue to make life-saving breakthroughs by leaving a gift to it in his Will. Jutlla's family has a long connection with Cancer Research UK. His father sadly died of a form of blood cancer. He had been a charitable man and Jutlla, wanting to follow in his father's footsteps, began making regular donations to Cancer Research UK. Then, just over a decade later, Jutlla's wife tragically died from ovarian cancer. "I found it so difficult without her," admits Jutlla. "She was the ninth member of the family that we lost to cancer at that time."

To help Jutlla through his grief, his children encouraged him to volunteer at Cancer Research UK's Race for Life. As the runners sprinted across the finish line, Jutlla read the heartfelt messages about loved ones with cancer, which were pinned to their backs. "I suddenly felt that I was not alone anymore," he says. "It made me smile and I have kept that smile since."

Keep the breakthroughs coming

By pledging to leave a gift in his Will, Jutlla wants to accelerate progress so that no other family has to suffer because of the disease. "By supporting Cancer Research UK, I feel I am playing a part in the research – it's a very small part, but a very important part," he says.

Jutlla knows firsthand about the historic milestones Cancer Research UK has reached. If you visit his home you'll see that he's even created his own archive brimming with clippings about Cancer Research UK's life-saving work – from boosting cure rates for cancers affecting immune cells (called B-cells) to improving chemotherapy for children with neuroblastoma, a cancer that develops from immature nerve cells.

He says: "When I see the information about progress that is made, I take a photo and put it in my file to show how much difference I have helped make – it keeps me going and I feel so strongly that we should support this work."

A lasting legacy

Gifts in Wills are vital to Cancer Research UK because they fund more than a third of its research. They enable long-term research projects that lead to new treatments and cures, and ultimately, it helps save lives for generations to come. Cancer survival is improving and has doubled in the last 40 years in the UK. And it's thanks, in part, to the charity's pioneering work. But none of it would be possible without your support. When you pledge to leave a gift in your Will to Cancer Research UK, you're leaving a legacy that could help create a brighter future for millions of people.

CANCER RESEARCH UK

Together we will beat cancer

Registered with FR FUNDRAISING REGULATOR

Pledge to leave a gift in your Will and help beat cancer for future generations. To find out more, request a free Gifts in Wills guide. Visit cruk.org/pledge or call 0800 077 6644

Cancer Research UK is a registered charity in England and Wales (1089464), Scotland (SC041666), and the Isle of Man (1103) and Jersey (247).

LETTERS

The headline of Lucy Worsley's feature on the Armada could be seen as disrespectful to hard-working history teachers, says Steve Illingworth

LETTER OF THE MONTH

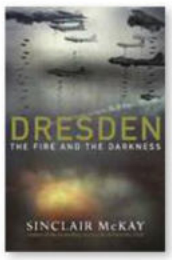
A lesson to be learnt

It is disappointing that Lucy Worsley's enjoyable article on the myths surrounding the Spanish Armada (*The Great Armada Myth*, February) had to include a headline including that lazy cliché of "forget everything you learned at school". It's very disrespectful to school history teachers, past and present, who have taught a far more nuanced and sophisticated story of the Armada than this suggests.

Even in the 1970s my own secondary school history teacher invited us to analyse some of the myths about a so-called great English victory against all the odds. Later, I used a similar approach myself while teaching history in schools. In recent years as a teacher educator I have observed several trainee teachers doing an excellent job of exploring different interpretations about whether the defeat of the Armada was due to English skill, Spanish mistakes, luck or other factors. Lucy Worsley's article explained these issues with great clarity but please note that school history teachers have been doing the same for a long time now.

Steve Illingworth, Wigan

Editor replies: Apologies to any teachers offended by the subtitle that we added to Lucy's piece. It was intended as a figure of speech rather than any direct comment on how the history of the Armada is taught in schools. We'll consider ourselves in detention!



We reward the *Letter of the Month* writer with a copy of a new history book. This issue, that is **Dresden: The Fire and the Darkness** by Sinclair McKay. You can read our review of the book on page 70

Festive failing

Thank you for your amusing look at Christmas oddities (*An Unexpected History of Christmas*, Christmas issue). It gave me several chuckles. However, it was a shame that you didn't balance it with even a suggestion of what Christmas was really about. Your article was a polo mint, I'm afraid.

Rev Jim Crompton, Kincraig

Too harsh a sentence

While reading your January issue, I was shocked to learn about the severity of the prison sentences given to the two metal detectorists who failed to declare the true extent of the Anglo-Saxon treasures they had discovered (*News*). One was jailed for 10 years, the other for eight and a half. Violent criminals with blood on their hands receive shorter sentences. These punishments send out a message that a treasure trove is more important than a human life. Our prisons are overcrowded and should be used for dangerous offenders. The metal-detectorists deserved punishment but prison sentences of this order were disproportionate.

Chris Madoc-Jones, Denbigh

Island or Islands?

In the *News* section of your February issue, you reported that "unusual Bronze Age figures have been unearthed on the "Scottish Island of Orkney". Orkney, also referred to as the Orkney Islands, is a *group* of islands which forms the archipelago off the far north coast of Scotland. There are around 70 such islands, 20 of which are inhabited. Nearly all of them have names, such as Mainland, which is the largest. Among the others are Shapinsay, Stronsay, Westray, Hoy, Flotta and Eday. There is however, no individual island named Orkney. Granted, it's a small point, but one that I think should be made in the interests of accuracy.

Ian McElroy, Thurso

A view of the island of Hoy, seen from Warebeth on Mainland, Orkney. As reader Ian McElroy points out, Orkney is made up of around 70 such islands

The open train carriage window that French president Paul Deschanel fell out of in 1920

A curious incident

I'd like to add some details to the short piece on French president Paul Deschanel falling out of a train window that appeared in your February edition (*Q&A*). It was 1920, and Deschanel was travelling by night train to unveil a war memorial in the south of France. He was not a well man at the time and, being unable to sleep, wandered along the corridor in his night attire. Then, he opened a window. Being drowsy from his medication, Deschanel leaned out rather too far and fell out of the train. A falling body was reported and although the train's occupants were counted, they did not want to disturb the presidential party!

President Deschanel then wandered along the track until he came to a level crossing keeper's house. He knocked on the door and explained that he was the president of France. The keeper humoured him and invited him in to warm up at the fire. When his slippers were removed the keeper was astonished to see his fine pedicure and immediately believed his story. Meanwhile the train continued to its embarrassing conclusion. Deschanel was relieved of his office shortly after.

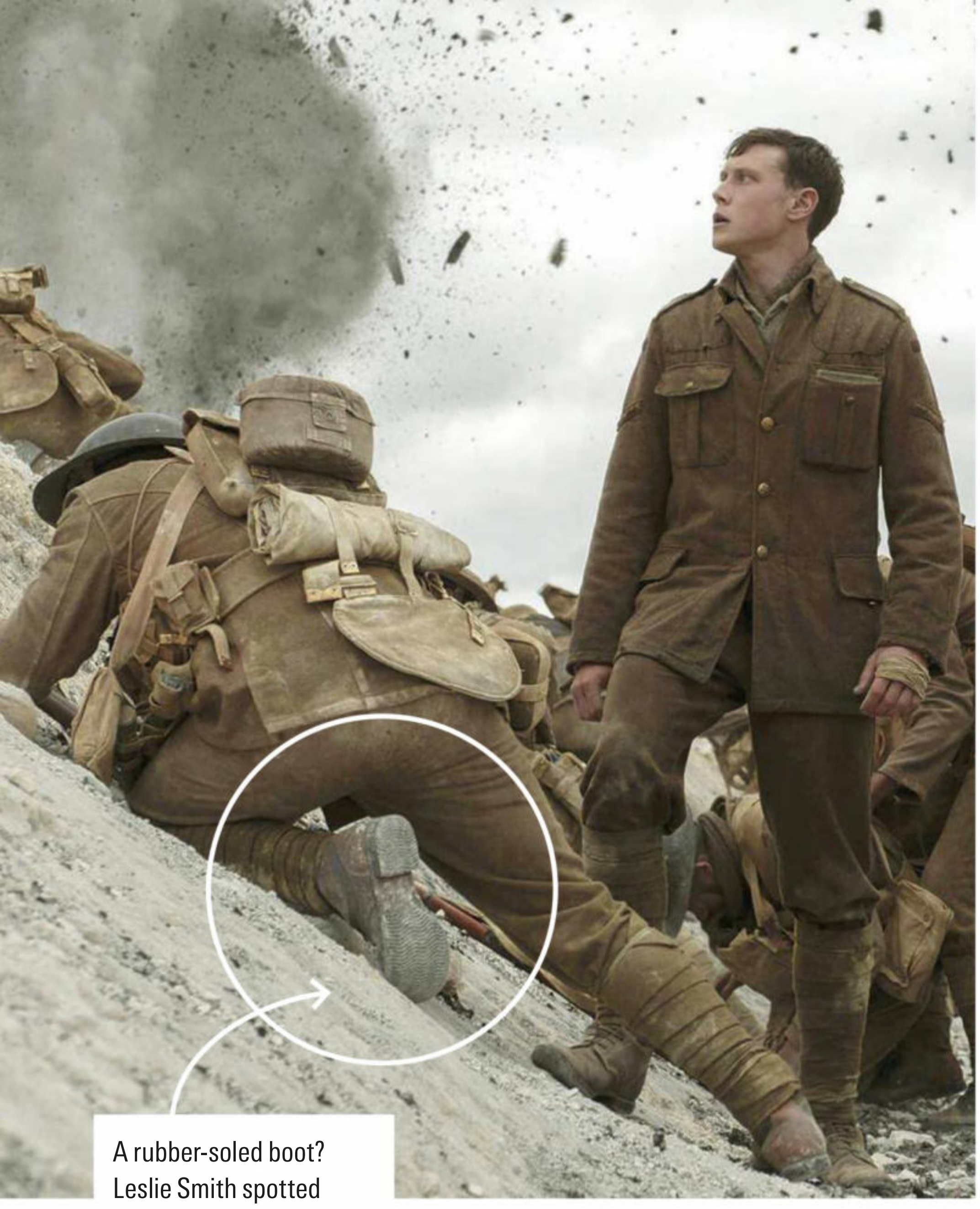
Jenny Farmer, Bristol

Hunting Hadrian

Your January issue (*Letters*) contained a message from John Cosgrove seeking information relating to Hadrian, the Libyan associate of Archbishop Theodore. He might be interested to learn that Hadrian was the abbot of St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury from 673 until his death in 708. Some confusion might be caused because at Canterbury he was always known as Adrian. The following, from Edward Hasted's *History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent* (1801), may prove helpful:

"Adrian, born in Africa, was constituted abbot by the pope... He had been abbot of Niridia near Naples, and was taken prisoner

BBC/ALAMY/TOPFOTO



A rubber-soled boot? Leslie Smith spotted a possible historical anachronism in this still from the movie *1917*, which appeared in our January issue

on his journey into England, and detained in France till the year 673, when being freed, he came to this monastery and took possession of his dignity. He was appointed a kind of coadjutor and inspector over the actions of Archbishop Theodore. He is said to have been very expert in the liberal sciences of astronomy and music, and was the first who, with that archbishop, brought into fashion the singing in churches with tunes and notes. Having governed this monastery for 39 years, he died a reverend old man in 708."
Stephen O'Hanlon, Whitstable

Put the boot in

Did anyone else spot the anachronism in the still from the film *1917* that featured in the *Encounters* section of the January issue (see above)? Rubber-soled boots were not issued to the British infantry soldier in 1917, nor indeed for many years thereafter. In that era all boots were leather-soled and hob-nailed; my own still were in the early 1950s.

Thanks for the grand magazine. Keep up the good work!
Leslie Smith, Wiltshire

WRITE TO US

We welcome your letters, while reserving the right to edit them. We may publish your letters on our website. Please include a daytime phone number and, if emailing, a postal address (not for publication). Letters should be no longer than 250 words. **email:** *letters@historyextra.com* **Post:** Letters, *BBC History Magazine*, Eagle House, Colston Avenue, Bristol BS1 4ST

The opinions expressed by our commentators are their own and may not represent the views of *BBC History Magazine* or the Immediate Media Company

ALAMY

BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE

EDITORIAL
Editor Rob Attar *robertattar@historyextra.com*
World history editor Matt Elton *mattelton@historyextra.com*
Production editor Spencer Mizen
Section editors Ellie Cawthorne and Jon Bauckham
Picture editor Samantha Nott *samnott@historyextra.com*
Deputy picture editor Katherine Mitchell
Group art editor Susanne Frank
Senior deputy art editor Rachel Dickens
Art editor, special editions Sarah Lambert
Deputy art editor Rosemary Smith
Digital editor Emma Mason *emmamason@historyextra.com*
Deputy digital editor Elinor Evans
Digital editorial assistant Rachel Dinning

IMMEDIATE MEDIA Co

Vol 21 No 3 March 2020
BBC History Magazine is published by Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited under licence from BBC Studios who help fund new BBC programmes.

BBC History Magazine was established to publish authoritative history, written by leading experts, in an accessible and attractive format. We seek to maintain the high journalistic standards traditionally associated with the BBC.

ADVERTISING & MARKETING
Advertising manager
Sam Jones 0117 300 8145
Sam.Jones@immediate.co.uk
Business development manager
Kate Chetwynd-Lawton 0117 300 8532
Brand sales executive
Max Spalton 0117 300 8530
Classified sales manager
Rebecca Janyshiwskyj
Classified sales executive
Alexander Armstrong 0117 300 8538
Alex.Armstrong@immediate.co.uk
Group direct marketing manager
Laurence Robertson 00353 5787 57444
Subscriptions director Jacky Perales-Morris
Subscriptions marketing manager
Natalie Lawrence
US representative Kate Buckley
buckley@buckleypell.com

PRESS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS
PR manager Emma Cooney 0117 300 8507
Emma.Cooney@immediate.co.uk

SYNDICATION
Director of licensing & syndication Tim Hudson
International partners' manager Anna Brown

PRODUCTION
Production director Sarah Powell
Production co-ordinator Emily Mounter
Ad co-ordinator Jade O'Halloran
Ad designer Julia Young

IMMEDIATE MEDIA COMPANY
Content director David Musgrove
Commercial director Jemima Dixon
Managing director Andy Healy
Group managing director Andy Marshall
CEO Tom Bureau

BBC STUDIOS, UK PUBLISHING
Managing Director, Consumer Products and Licensing: Stephen Davies
Head of publishing Mandy Thwaites
Compliance manager Cameron McEwan
Chair, Editorial Review Boards Nicholas Brett
UK publishing coordinator Eva Abramik
(uk.publishing@bbc.com)

ADVISORY PANEL
Dr Padma Anagol Cardiff University, **Prof Joanna Bourke** Birkbeck College, London, **Prof Richard Carwardine** Oxford University, **Prof Clive Emsley** Open University, **Prof Richard Evans** Cambridge University, **Prof Sarah Foot** Oxford University, **Loyd Grossman** Chairman of the Heritage Alliance*, **Prof Rab Houston** St Andrews University, **Prof John Hudson** St Andrews University, **Dr Peter Jones** formerly Newcastle University, **Prof Denis Judd** London Metropolitan University, **Prof Sir Ian Kershaw** formerly Sheffield University, **Robert Ketteridge** Head of Documentaries, Factual, BBC*, **Christopher Lee** formerly Cambridge University, **Prof John Morrill** Cambridge University, **Greg Neale** Founding editor, *BBC History Magazine*, **Prof Kenneth O Morgan** Oxford University, **Prof Cormac ó Gráda** University College, Dublin, **Prof Martin Pugh** formerly Newcastle University, **Julian Richards** archaeologist and broadcaster, **Prof Simon Schama** Columbia University, **Prof Mark Stoyle** University of Southampton, **Dr Amanda Goodrich** The Open University*, **Dr Simon Thurley** formerly chief executive, English Heritage, **Michael Wood** historian and broadcaster
**member of BBC Editorial Advisory Board*

© Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited, 2020 – ISSN: 1469 8552
Not for resale. All rights reserved. Unauthorised reproduction in whole or part is prohibited without written permission. Every effort has been made to secure permission for copyright material. In the event of any material being used inadvertently, or where it proved impossible to trace the copyright owner, acknowledgement will be made in a future issue. MSS, photographs and artwork are accepted on the basis that *BBC History Magazine* and its agents do not accept liability for loss or damage to same. Views expressed are not necessarily those of the publisher.

We abide by IPSO's rules and regulations. To give feedback about our magazines, please visit immediate.co.uk, email *editorialcomplaints@immediate.co.uk* or write to Katherine Conlon, Immediate Media Co., Vineyard House, 44 Brook Green, London W6 7BT.

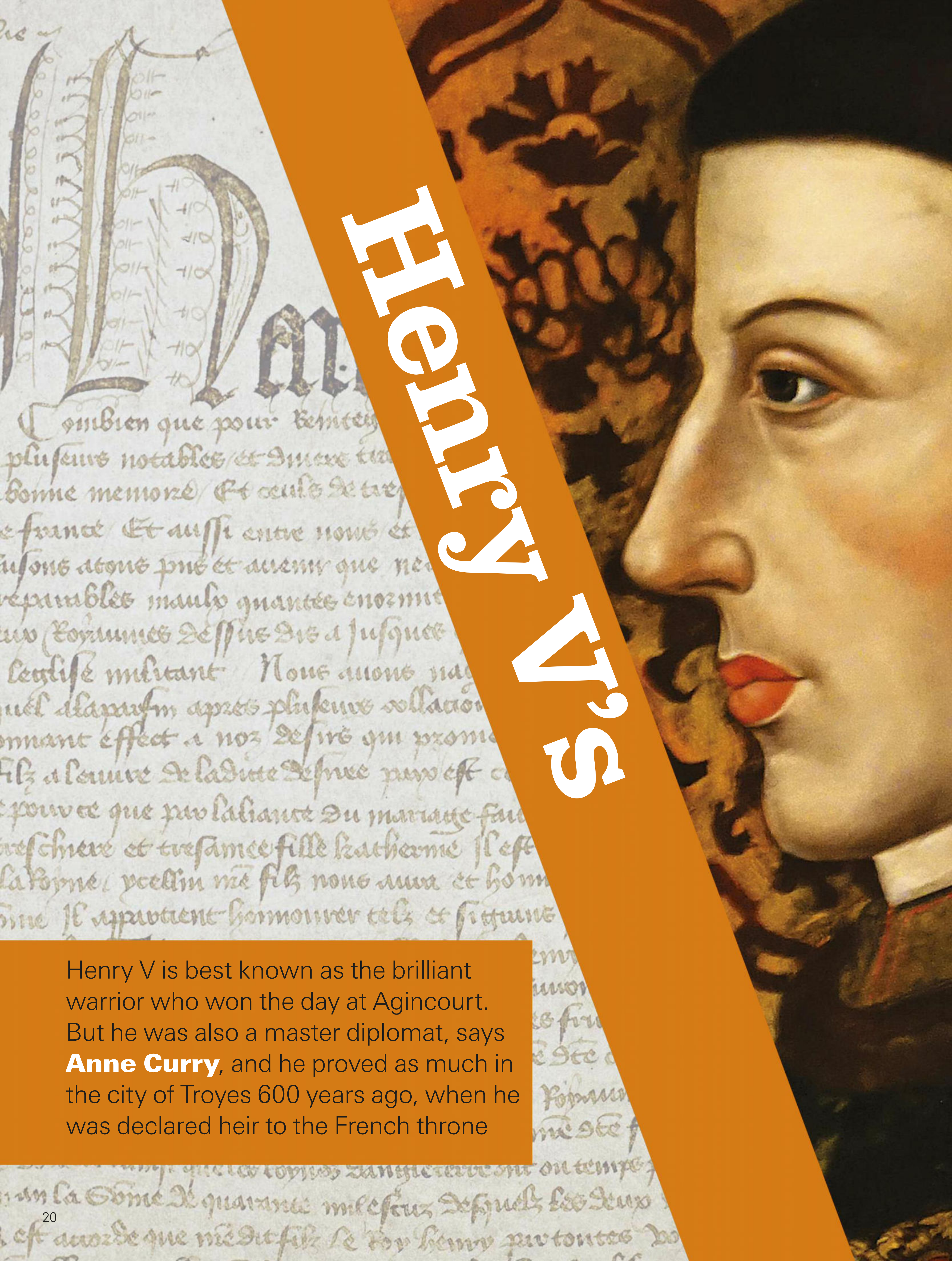
Immediate Media Company is working to ensure that all of its paper is sourced from well-managed forests. This magazine can be recycled, for use in newspapers and packaging. Please remove any gifts, samples or wrapping and dispose of it at your local collection point.

recycle
When you have finished with this magazine please recycle it.

ipso. Regulated

abc Jan–Dec 2018 **94,628**

NRS Oct 2016– Sep 2017 **308,000**



Henry V's

Henry V is best known as the brilliant warrior who won the day at Agincourt. But he was also a master diplomat, says **Anne Curry**, and he proved as much in the city of Troyes 600 years ago, when he was declared heir to the French throne

18+

WHAT IS

AVAXHOME?

AVAXHOME -

the biggest Internet portal, providing you various content: brand new books, trending movies, fresh magazines, hot games, recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price
Cheap constant access to piping hot media
Protect your downloadings from Big brother
Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

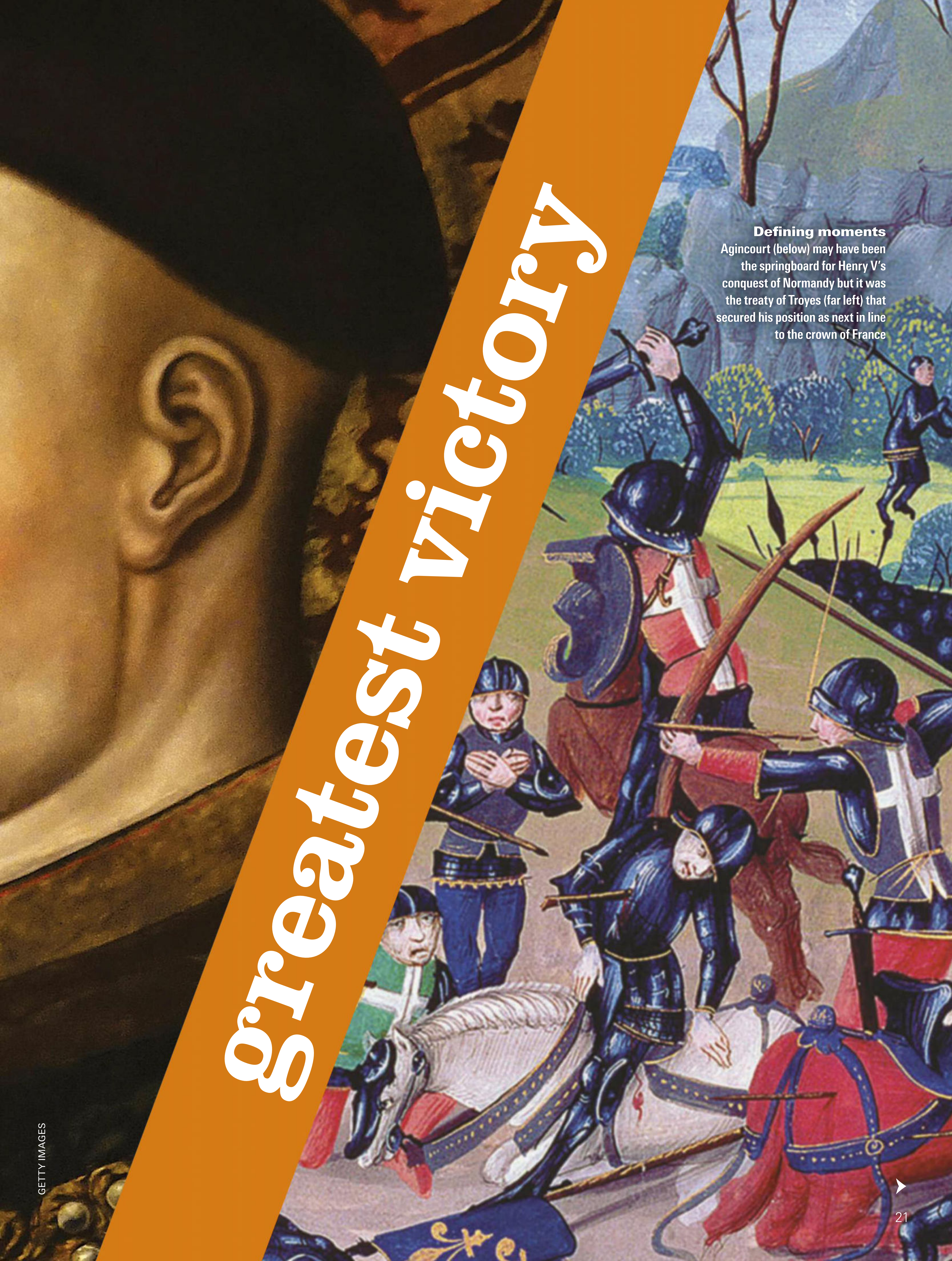
All languages
Brand new content
One site

AVXLIVE.ICU

AvaxHome - Your End Place

We have everything for all of your needs. Just open https://avxlive.icu

greatest victory



Defining moments
Agincourt (below) may have been the springboard for Henry V's conquest of Normandy but it was the treaty of Troyes (far left) that secured his position as next in line to the crown of France

GETTY IMAGES

In Troyes on 21 May 1420, Charles VI, king of France, did something truly remarkable: he recognised the English claim to his throne. Acknowledging King Henry V as his rightful heir was nothing short of a humiliation for Charles's nation. The 'Hundred Years' War' appeared to be over. The English – personified by their young, vigorous king, Henry V – stood triumphant. At least for now.

To appreciate the significance of this moment, it pays to take a closer look at what happened at Troyes six centuries ago. For more than 80 years, the rulers of England had waged war with the Valois kings of France, claiming that they had a stronger right to the French crown. Over the intervening decades, both sides' fortunes had ebbed and flowed. Now, five years after Henry had led his first English invasion of France, there appeared to be an outright winner.

By sealing the Treaty of Troyes, King Charles was not only acknowledging Henry as his rightful successor but also Henry's heirs. In other words, the two crowns were to be, for all time to come, ruled by the same king – the king of England. The treaty had swept aside the claim to the French throne of not only the Dauphin (or heir apparent) Charles, the son of Charles VI, but also of all the other male members of the Valois royal house. Worse still for the French, Henry V was to be regent while awaiting his accession to the French throne because, since 1392, Charles VI had suffered repeated mental crises.

To cement this remarkable settlement Henry married Charles's daughter, Catherine, in Troyes on 2 June. She was crowned at Westminster Abbey on 23 February 1421, and in the following banquet, table decorations proudly proclaimed: "Through this fine marriage, war will cease."

Henry was a brilliant leader in peace as well as war, and those qualities yielded extraordinary results at Troyes

So how had Henry pulled off the coup of persuading, or forcing, the French to accept the English as rightful kings of France? For Shakespeare, there was a simple explanation: Agincourt. In his 1599 play *Henry V*, Shakespeare draws a direct link between Henry's most famous victory, secured in October 1415, and his diplomatic triumph at Troyes.

Henry was indeed one of England's great military leaders. But if the years between Agincourt and the Treaty of Troyes teach us anything, it is that Henry was so much more than a brilliant soldier. He was also a talented diplomat and a ruthless opportunist. In short, he was a brilliant leader in peace as well as war, and those qualities yielded extraordinary results at Troyes.

It's important to remember that Henry was also helped by fatal vendettas within France in the early years of the 15th century, which seriously compromised attempts to fight off English invasions. At the heart of French divisions lay a bloody rivalry between two factions battling for control of the mentally ill king: the Armagnacs, who initially rallied behind Charles VI's younger brother, Louis, Duke of Orléans, and the Burgundians. Tensions had been rising for years, but they exploded in November 1407 when John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy ordered the assassination of Louis. Civil war followed and soon both sides were appealing to the English for military support. Henry V's decision to go to war in France in 1415 was surely motivated by an ambition to exploit the chaos engulfing his opponents.

A bitter siege

But Shakespeare *was* right in emphasising the longer term effect of Agincourt. Henry's victory in 1415 made the French reluctant to face him in battle again. As a result, there was no major check to the campaign of systematic conquest that Henry began in Normandy on 1 August 1417. By the summer of 1418, almost all of Lower Normandy was under English control. The Norman capital, Rouen, proved a more difficult nut to crack, as a bitter six-month siege reveals. But once Rouen had accepted English rule in January 1419, much of Upper Normandy surrendered to Henry without resistance.

All the while, Henry showed skill in winning the hearts and minds of his new subjects by fanning their pride in Norman identity and separatism, reviving folk memories of the old Anglo-Norman ducal past. He also ensured strong military control within his newly conquered duchy, and encouraged both his administrators and soldiers through grants of land within it – a Norman Conquest in reverse, so to speak.

In the face of this determined English advance, French divisions grew wider still until in late spring 1418 they reached a new nadir with a Burgundian attack on Paris. Not only did the Burgundians seize control of the capital, they also murdered Armagnac leader Bernard d'Armagnac and forced his

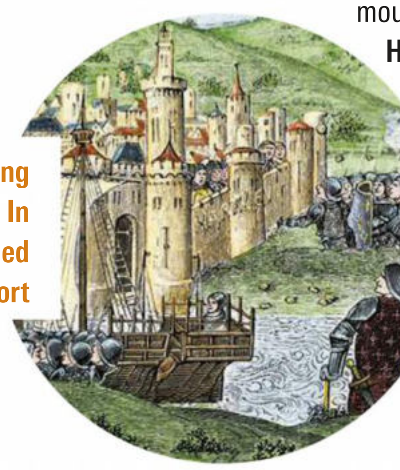
TIMELINE Henry V's battle for France

Mid-August 1415

Henry V invades France. The Normandy port of Harfleur surrenders to the English on 22 September.

25 October 1415

Henry V secures a spectacular victory over French forces at **Agincourt**.



An illustration showing Harfleur in 1449–50. In 1415, Henry V had besieged the Normandy port

15 August 1416

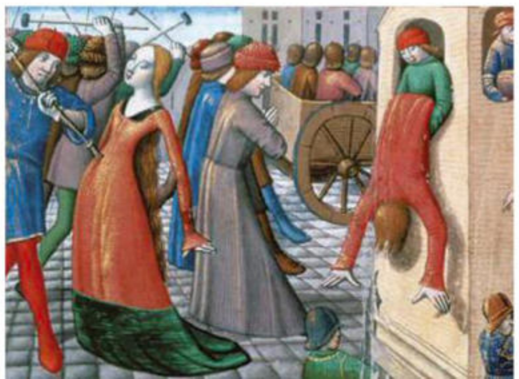
French efforts to besiege Harfleur by land and sea are ended by their defeat in a naval battle in the mouth of the Seine. With **Harfleur secure and following an alliance with Sigismund, emperor-elect**, Henry prepares for a new invasion.

1 August 1417

Henry V lands at the mouth of the river Touques in Lower Normandy.

19 September 1417

Henry captures Caen and establishes his administration in the city. Leading his army southwards, he takes key locations such as Alençon, dissecting Lower Normandy.

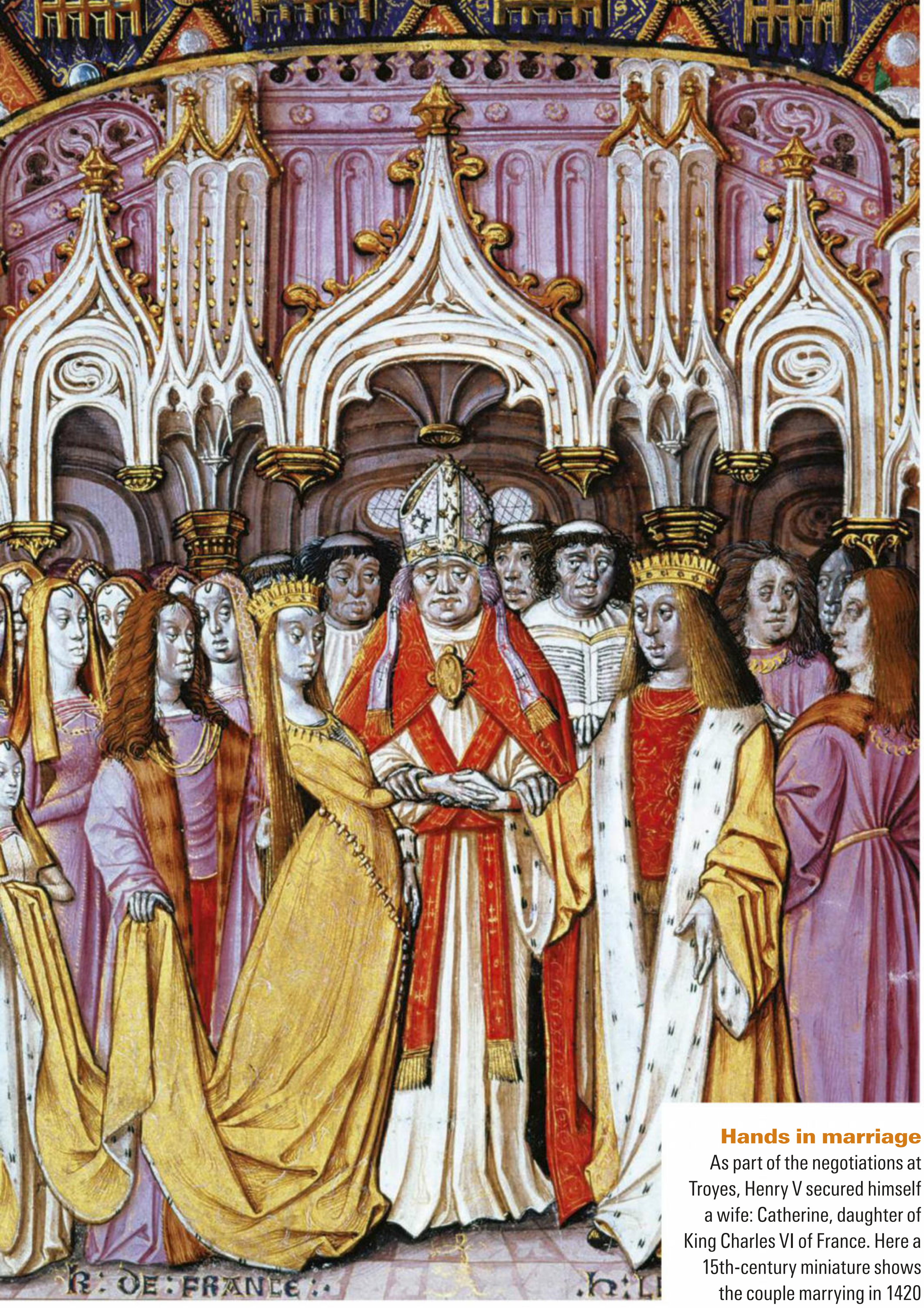


Burgundians massacre Armagnacs as civil war erupts in France

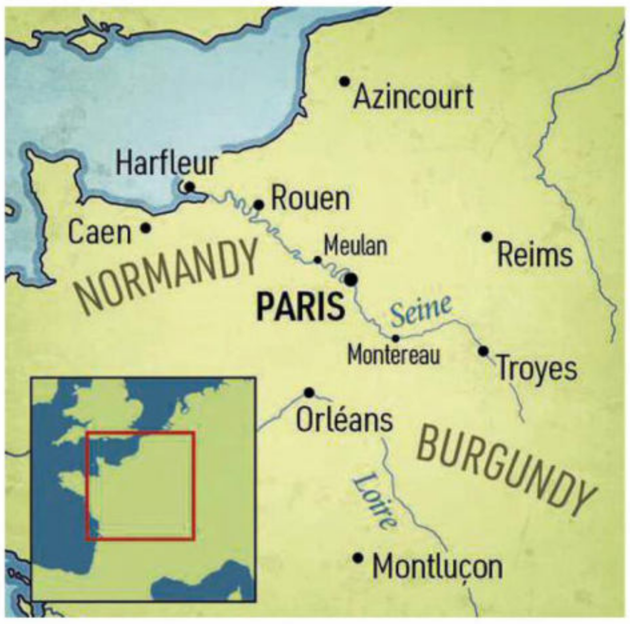
February 1418

After putting up stubborn resistance, the strategically significant **castle of Falaise surrenders to Henry**. The Duke of Gloucester is sent westwards into the Cotentin, and the Duke of Clarence eastwards towards the Seine to complete the conquest of Lower Normandy.

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES



Hands in marriage As part of the negotiations at Troyes, Henry V secured himself a wife: Catherine, daughter of King Charles VI of France. Here a 15th-century miniature shows the couple marrying in 1420



Battlefield France Our map shows the region fought over by Henry V and the French factions in the early 15th century

successor as Armagnac leader, the Dauphin Charles, into flight. As for the king, he fell under the control of the Duke of Burgundy and was moved to Troyes for his 'safety'.

Once Henry V had taken Rouen, the Duke of Burgundy was willing to negotiate with the English. Henry too was keen to come to a settlement to consolidate his success. At the subsequent meeting at Meulan in June 1419, where Henry first set eyes on Catherine, the two sides came close to agreeing terms: the restoration to Henry of lands in south-west France granted to Edward III in the Treaty of Brétigny (1360), plus Normandy, and Henry's marriage to Catherine with a large dowry.

Yet this settlement was never enacted. At the last minute, the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin chose to work towards a joint endeavour against Henry. The English king decided to continue his advance towards Paris. But a meeting of the duke and Dauphin on a bridge at Montereau on 10 September

July 1418

Henry lays siege to the Norman capital, Rouen, which surrenders on 19 January 1419. Much of Upper Normandy subsequently falls to Henry without resistance. Negotiations begin for a territorial settlement.

1 July 1419

Negotiations fail, with the Burgundians and Armagnacs moving towards a reconciliation in order to unite against Henry. **The English begin to move towards Paris.**

10 September 1419

The Dauphin's henchmen **assassinate John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy.** Reconciliation between the Burgundians and Armagnacs is now impossible. Henry V is able to exploit this situation and negotiate a dynastic settlement.

John the Fearless's murder strengthened Henry V's hand in France

21 May 1420

In the treaty sealed at Troyes, **Charles VI recognises Henry as his heir.**

2 June 1420

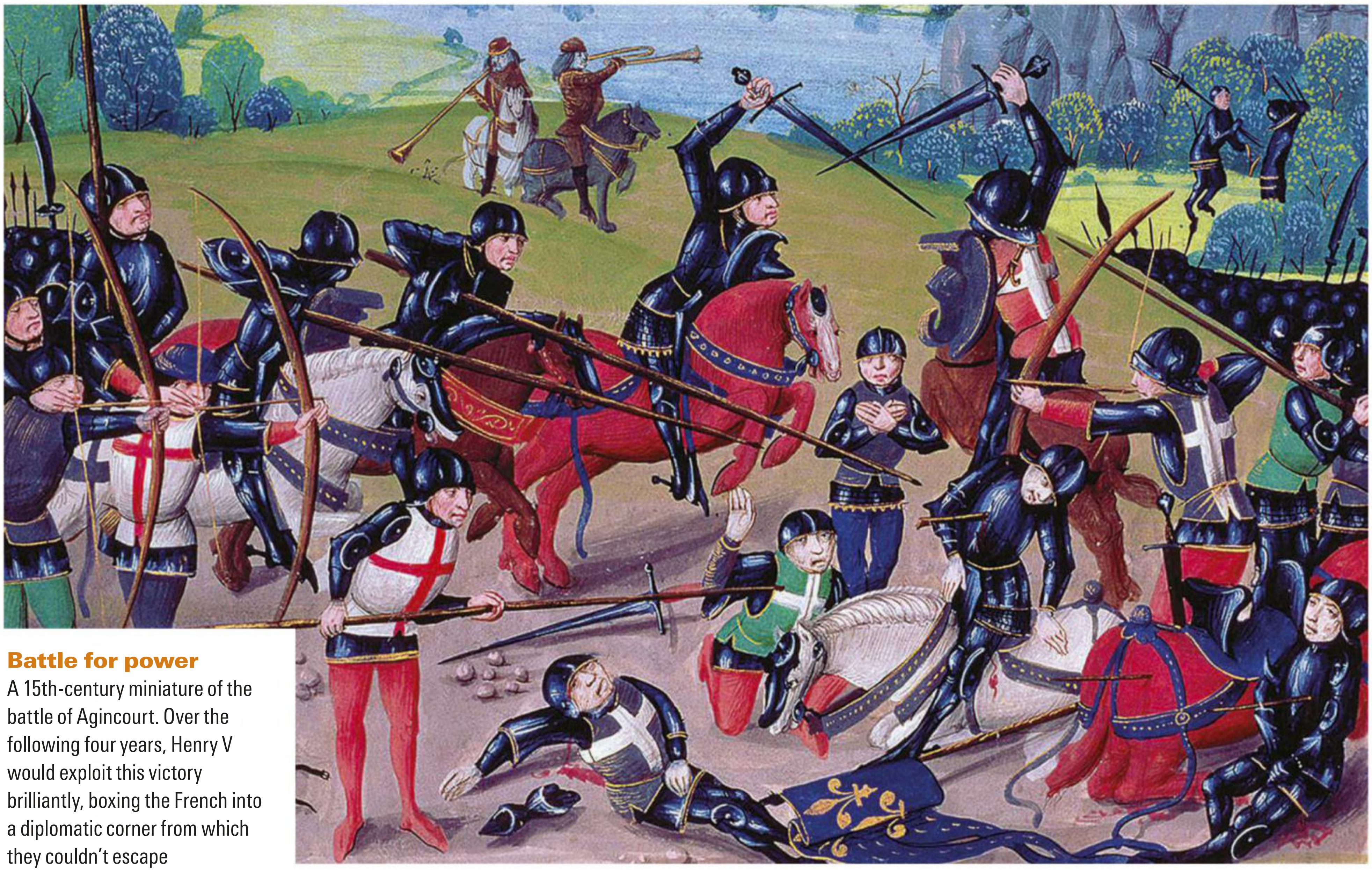
Henry marries Catherine, daughter of Charles VI, in the church of Saint-Jean-au-Marché in Troyes.

31 August 1422

Henry dies at the castle of Vincennes to the east of Paris. His body is brought back through Normandy to England for burial in Westminster Abbey on 7 November.

Charles VI of France had few answers to Henry's military might and diplomatic cunning

BRIDGEMAN/GETTY IMAGES/BATTLEFIELD DESIGN



Battle for power
A 15th-century miniature of the battle of Agincourt. Over the following four years, Henry V would exploit this victory brilliantly, boxing the French into a diplomatic corner from which they couldn't escape

ALAMY

1419 destroyed all hope of unity, for it was here that henchmen of the Dauphin assassinated Duke John – an act of revenge for the Burgundian assassinations of Duke Louis of Orléans and Bernard d'Armagnac.

A century later, in 1521 a Carthusian monk, showing King Francis I of France the damaged skull of Duke John, exclaimed: "My lord, that is the hole through which the English entered France." He had a point: the Anglo-Burgundian negotiations that followed the murder at Montereau led to the terms that were sealed at Troyes on 21 May 1420.

Henry was a master of realpolitik. By gaining Charles's recognition, he boosted his own credibility in France

A kingdom divided

The French civil war was preventing any effective resistance against the English, and Henry took advantage of the situation almost immediately, encouraged by the anxieties of the pro-Burgundian council in Paris, which was fearful of pending English attack. On 27 September 1419, English envoys presented a schedule that emphasised Henry's claim to the French crown and which included several clauses later to be embodied in the treaty, including a marriage to Catherine – this time without the need for the French to offer a dowry. The Parisian council was amazed at Henry's demands since they were so different from those he had put forward at Meulan only a few months earlier. But the English ambassadors explained that "things were now completely different" – by which they meant the English were now in a more powerful position.

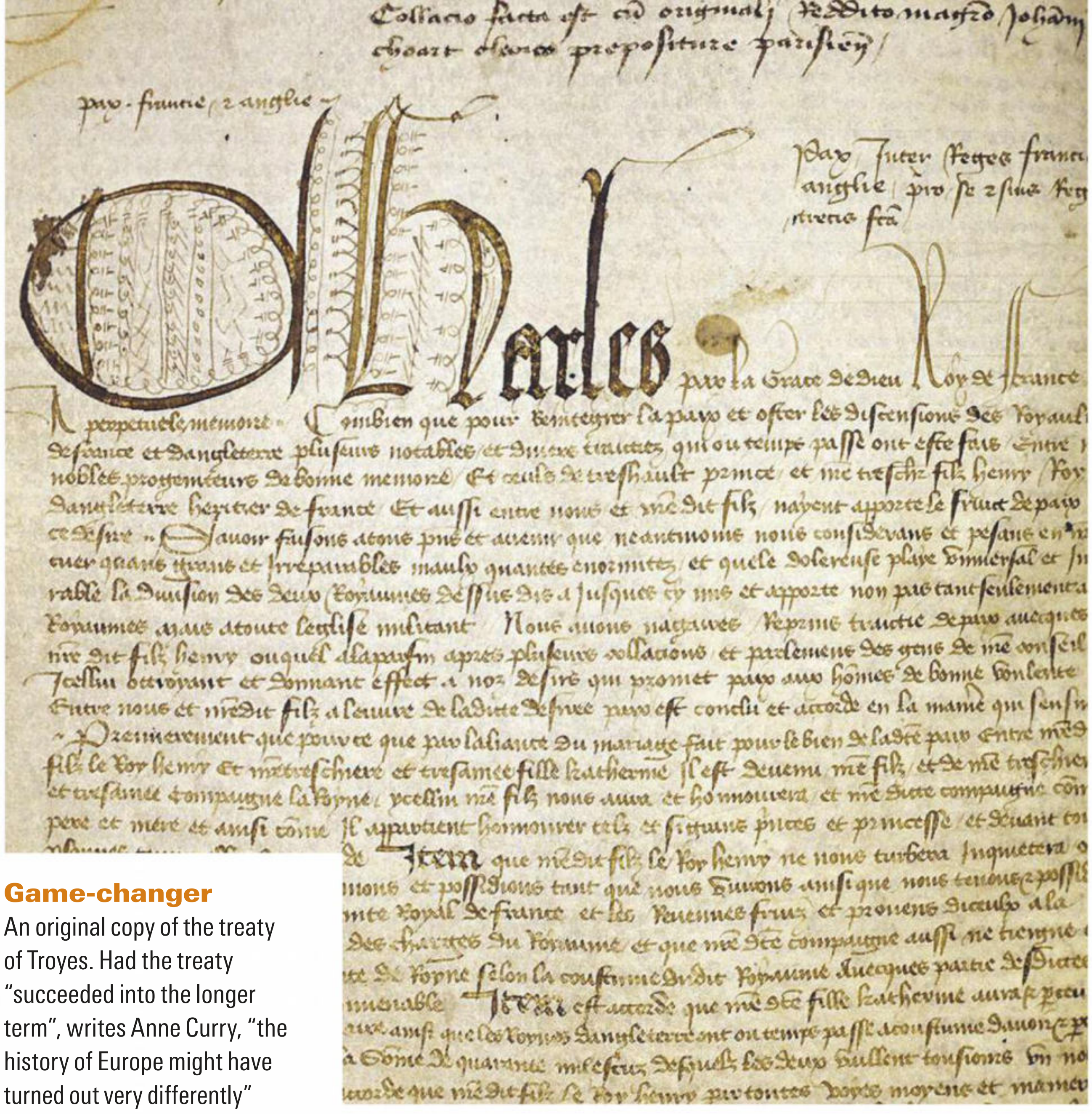
Henry then issued an ultimatum, giving notice to the new Duke of Burgundy, Philip, that his terms had to be accepted or he would not be responsible for the consequences. Philip agreed in principle to Henry's proposals, seeing them as a way of gaining revenge for his father's death, and on Christmas Day he formally recognised Henry as heir to the French throne. One chronicler observed that Henry "was delighted to have an alliance with the duke since he knew that it was through him that he could achieve a marriage with Catherine, which was very agreeable to him". Through a combination of Burgundian and English persuasion, King Charles and Queen Isabeau also gave their assent.

In the spring of 1420, an assembly of nobles, churchmen and town representatives at Troyes was told why Henry's terms should be accepted: "First because Henry himself was wise, and a lover of God, peace and justice; he had true concern for the division and the parlous state of the kingdom of France caused by the Dauphin and his party; furthermore, the Dauphin had broken his solemn agreement with Duke John and was no longer worthy of any dignity or obedience." The assembly declared the proposed treaty terms to be "most convenient, most profitable, and most necessary". By 9 April the preliminaries of the treaty were agreed. All that remained was for Henry to come to Troyes for final discussions and ratifications, and for the public sealing of the treaty.

Throughout the negotiations, Henry had shown himself a master of realpolitik. The salient element of the treaty was not simply that Charles VI had recognised Henry as heir to the French crown, but that Henry was willing for Charles to retain the throne until his death. While Henry had enjoyed much military success to date, he was all too aware that he was in no position to take the throne by conquest. By gaining the French king's

MORE FROM US

For more content about **Henry V** – including features and podcasts – go to *historyextra.com/people/henry-v*



Game-changer
An original copy of the treaty of Troyes. Had the treaty "succeeded into the longer term", writes Anne Curry, "the history of Europe might have turned out very differently"

recognition, Henry reasoned that he was boosting his own credibility and therefore the chances of acceptance by the French people. He agreed that there would be no English 'takeover' of France, and that he would rule according to French practice. The king and queen would be respected and supported, and would remain in France.

Intriguingly, Henry appears to have formulated the idea of such a delayed inheritance some years earlier. After the fall of Harfleur in September 1415 Henry had summoned the then Dauphin Louis to single combat. The winner, Henry suggested, should be acknowledged as the heir to Charles VI, but Louis never responded to the offer.

By the time of the sealing of the treaty of Troyes, Charles VI was not expected to live for much longer. Henry would surely be king soon. Even as regent, he knew that he could rely on the support of the Burgundians in their search for revenge. Not surprisingly, the treaty included several clauses in their favour, as well as committing Henry to the destruction of their Armagnac enemy.

Even so, Henry was aware of potential resistance within France to the terms of the treaty. As a result, the wider political community, as well as the main parties to the treaty, were required to pay public oaths to uphold the treaty, and to promise to obey Henry as heir and as king. What's more, Henry deemed it wise that there should be a formal summons to the Dauphin to face justice for the murder of Duke John, following proper French practice. After making a ceremonial entry together into Paris, deliberately timed for Advent Sunday, Charles VI and Henry held a *lit de justice* (a specific kind of court session). Hardly surprisingly, the Dauphin did not respond to the summons and was declared an outlaw.

Triumph and death

There were Frenchmen and women, even beyond the Armagnac group, who did not accept the validity of the treaty. For others, it offered a real hope of peace after many years of upheaval. As regent, Henry did not disappoint, both in his wise and sensitive government and in his successful military campaigns against the Dauphin's supporters. Ironically, though, Henry's end came through military actions. In 1422, just two years after sealing the treaty, he contracted dysentery – supposedly while besieging Meaux – and died on 31 August at the castle of Vincennes. He would never inherit the French throne despite his triumph in the Treaty of Troyes. Charles VI would follow him to the grave just two months later. And so it was that the infant Henry VI, born to Henry and Catherine on 6 December 1421, became the first king of the double monarchy of England and France. He was even crowned king in Paris, on 16 December 1431.

At first it appeared that the Treaty of Troyes might continue to thrive despite the death of its formidable creator. John Duke of Bedford, regent in France for the young Henry VI, was a well-respected warrior. Paris remained particularly loyal to the treaty: soon after the death of Henry V, the leader of its mercantile community promised his successor that in return for aid against the Dauphinists harrying Paris, "We shall abide by what is right, and be ready to obey the commands and wishes of our sovereign lord." It helped enormously that Duke Philip of Burgundy made clear at Henry V's death that he stood fully by the Troyes settlement: "I am ready to commit myself and do everything necessary for the good of the kingdom of France and to maintain the treaty."

The Dauphin only became a formidable opponent after he had himself crowned as king of France in the traditional crowning place of Reims in July 1429. That gave him credibility beyond his own supporters and a real chance of challenging the 'English' king of France. His achievement was down to the intervention of Joan of Arc, a key figure in lifting the siege of Orléans in May 1429 and as iconic in French history as Henry V is within the English national story. Faced with increasing opposition and the defection of the Burgundians to Charles VII in 1435, Henry VI's regime in France crumbled.

But that should not detract from what was agreed in Troyes in May 1420. Henry V was responsible for one of the most amazing treaties in history. Had it succeeded into the longer term, with the same king ruling England and France, the history of Europe might have turned out very differently indeed. The treaty proved ineffective once the English had lost most of their French lands in the early 1450s but it was not until 1801 that kings of Great Britain stopped calling themselves kings of France.

While history remembers Henry V as a warmonger, he was also a peacemaker, and a skilled one at that – aiming to resolve centuries of conflict. His vision, as expressed in the treaty terms, was that "all divisions, hatred and rancours between England and France should cease and that the two realms should enjoy in perpetuity peace, tranquillity, affection, mutual agreement and firm friendship". Henry may be most celebrated for what he achieved on the battlefield of Agincourt. But the treaty of Troyes was surely his greatest victory. **H**

Anne Curry is emeritus professor of medieval history at the University of Southampton. Her books include *Henry V* (Penguin Monarchs, 2015)

LISTEN AGAIN You can hear Matthew Parris and guests discuss Henry V in an episode of BBC Radio 4's **Great Lives** at: *bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00p62v6*

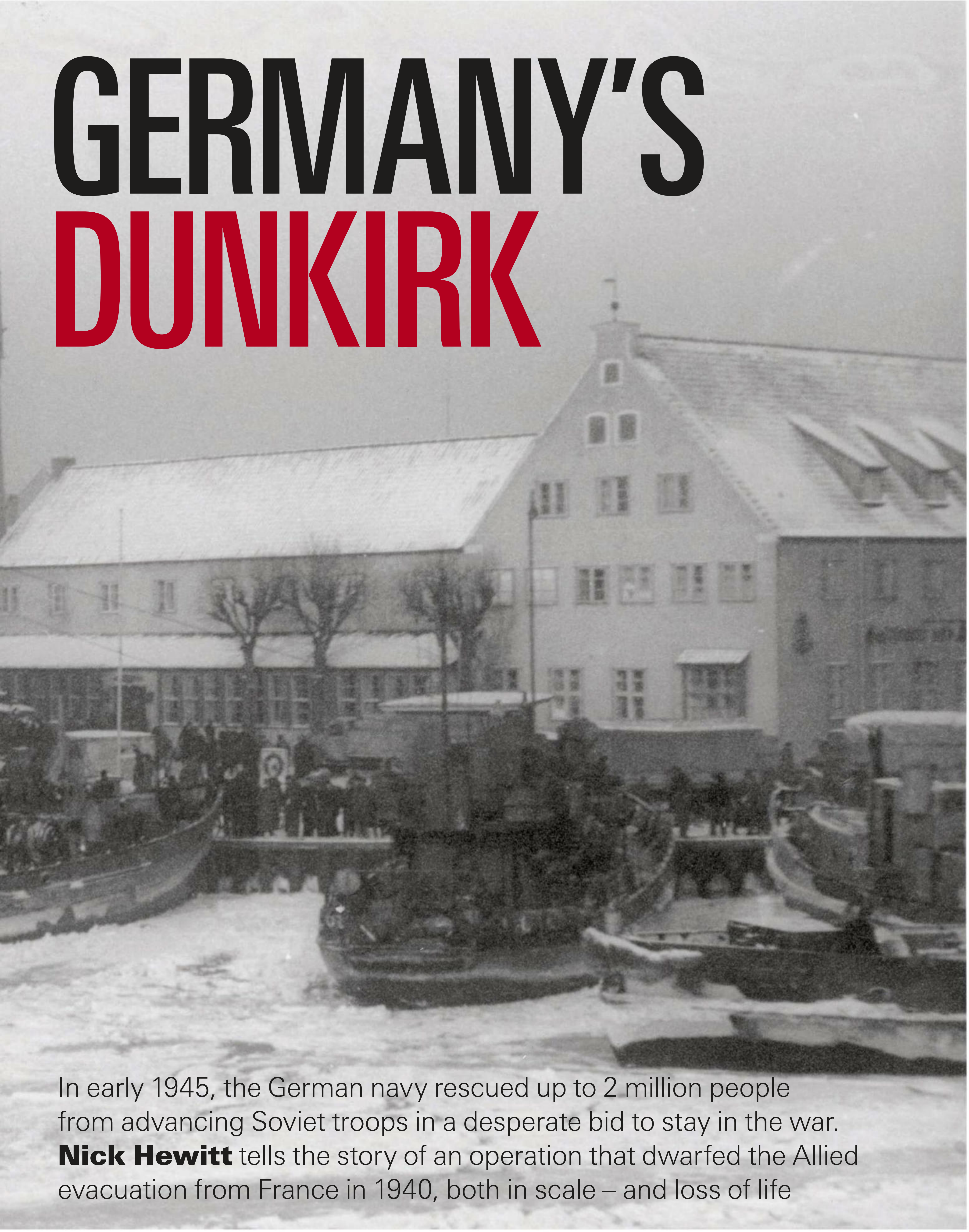
SHUTTERSTOCK

Tortuous wait

As the Soviet army closes in, Germans await evacuation from the East Prussian town of Pillau, 1945. One teacher rescued from the seaport recalled standing “around all day with thousands… everywhere broken glass, dirt and excrement”

BUNDESARCHIV-146-1989-033-33-BUDHAN

GERMANY'S DUNKIRK



In early 1945, the German navy rescued up to 2 million people from advancing Soviet troops in a desperate bid to stay in the war. **Nick Hewitt** tells the story of an operation that dwarfed the Allied evacuation from France in 1940, both in scale – and loss of life

Water barrier Refugees in East Prussia, 1945. German civilians could expect little sympathy from Red Army troops

Rampaging army Soviet soldiers in March 1945. By now, hundreds of thousands of German troops and civilians were cut off and besieged

BRIDGEMAN/ALAMY/BUDNESARCHIV-146-1972-093-51-ANG

On 1 April 1945, an 18-year-old German soldier named Guy Sajer boarded the troop ship *Pretoria*, an elegant former passenger liner which had been taken over by the German navy, the Kriegsmarine, in 1939. The ship was packed with refugees and wounded soldiers and Sajer was jammed into a corner of the bridge, the only space available. *Pretoria* steamed west from Hela (in modern Poland) for two days, under constant threat of air or submarine attack, until it finally dropped its anchor in Copenhagen, and the exhausted Sajer struggled ashore. “We saw things we had almost forgotten,” he recalled, “like pastry shops, which we devoured with enormous eyes, forgetting our filthy faces ravaged with misery.”

Sajer, from Alsace, had enlisted at the age of 16 and fought for years on the eastern front with the *Großdeutschland* division, an elite armoured infantry formation that had by now ceased to exist. Sajer's last few months had been characterised by desperate fighting as part of various scratch units formed of stragglers. He had been subjected to a succession of retreats and evacuations, first by sea from Memel to Pillau, then a nightmare trek across a frozen lagoon to Danzig, a long walk to Gotenhafen, and another perilous sea passage to Hela. Sajer owed his life to German sailors. “Ships gutted by bombs blocked the approaches to the piers. Mutilated corpses floated in the debris. The navy was performing a prodigious task. We would have been lost without it.”

LIKE HITLER, AND LIKE CHURCHILL IN 1940, DÖNITZ WANTED THE ARMY BACK SO THAT IT COULD CONTINUE TO FIGHT

Although he was unaware of the fact, Sajer – who recorded his experiences in a memoir called *The Forgotten Soldier* – was saved from death, or at the very least a long stretch in a Soviet gulag, by Operation Hannibal. This was the desperate effort made by Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, the Kriegsmarine's chief and later Nazi Germany's last führer, to evacuate German soldiers and civilians from under the guns of the advancing Red Army in the east and transport them to safety in the west. It was arguably the greatest evacuation in history although, like the far smaller but much better-known evacuation at Dunkirk in 1940, this was not an exercise motivated by simple humanity, whatever Dönitz may have claimed in his self-serving memoirs after the war. Like Hitler, and like Churchill in 1940, Dönitz wanted the army back so that it could continue to fight. At his regular naval conference with Hitler on 28 January 1945, the grand admiral informed the führer that “refugees can be evacuated by sea only insofar as this operation does not affect the transfer of fighting forces”. Ludicrous as it may seem with the benefit of hindsight, the Third Reich's leaders still believed victory, or at least a negotiated peace, was achievable.

Yet this prospect had already receded even further with the start of the Soviet East Prussian and Vistula offensives on 12 January 1945. The eastern front collapsed and vast Soviet forces swept through Poland into the heartland of the Reich. As they encountered

Exit strategy
Rear Admiral Konrad Engelhardt (standing, right), the former merchant marine skipper charged with implementing Operation Hannibal, watches refugees board a transport ship

pockets of resistance, many holding out for no better reason than Hitler's insane orders to defend every inch of German soil to the last, they simply swept past them.

By March, the Soviets had reached the Oder river and the Baltic coast, leaving hundreds of thousands of German soldiers and civilians cut off and besieged in East Prussia, on the Courland Peninsula, and around Danzig. Many were sick or starving, and all faced inevitable death or capture by Soviet soldiers with nearly four years of German atrocities inside the Soviet Union to avenge. "Now our soldiers can see how German homes burn," one Soviet soldier wrote in a letter home, "how their families wander round dragging their viper's brood with them… for them there is no mercy."

Eviscerated force

On 23 January, as the Soviet advance into East Prussia gathered momentum, Dönitz ordered Rear Admiral Konrad Engelhardt, head of the Kriegsmarine's Transport Service and an experienced former merchant marine skipper, to launch a *Rettungsaktion* (rescue operation) codenamed Operation Hannibal to ferry troops and refugees west.

Engelhardt faced formidable challenges.

MARY EVANS/MAP ILLUSTRATION BY PAUL HEWITT–BATTLEFILED DESIGN

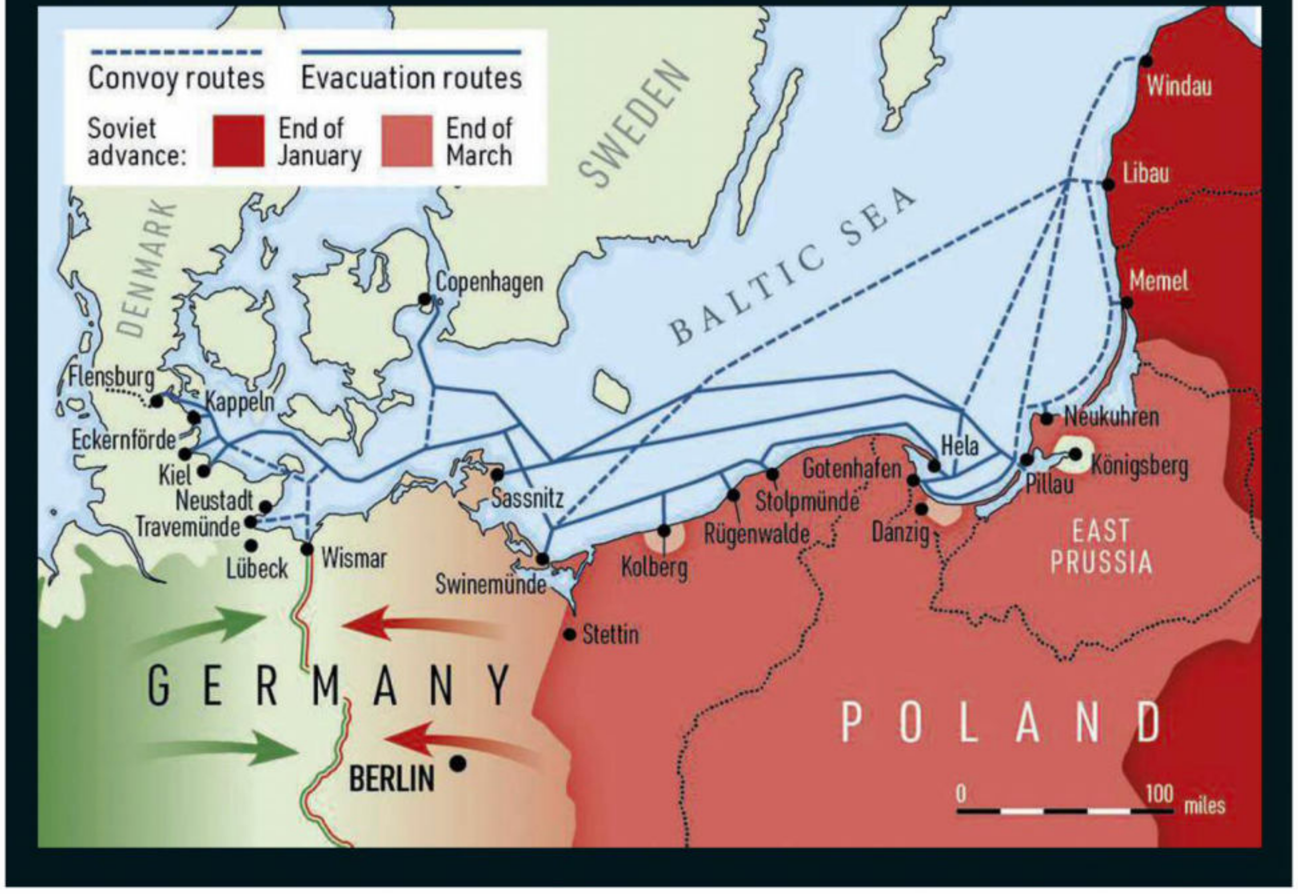
HOW HANNIBAL DWARFED DUNKIRK

The two Second World War evacuations in figures

	HANNIBAL January–May 1945	**DUNKIRK*** May–June 1940
Duration	115 days	9 days
Numbers evacuated	c2 million	c338,000
Vessels taking part	Up to 1,080	861
Vessels lost	245	243
Greatest single loss	*Wilhelm Gustloff* c9,600 dead	HMS *Wakeful* 724 dead
Maximum distance	320 nautical miles (Pillau–Kiel)	87 nautical miles ('Route Y')

*Statistics do not include operations later in June to evacuate the 2nd BEF from other ports

The sinking of the former Nazi party holiday cruise ship *Wilhelm Gustloff* was perhaps history's greatest maritime tragedy


Convoy routes
Evacuation routes
Soviet advance:
End of January
End of March
SWEDEN
DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
Windau
Libau
Memel
Copenhagen
Flensburg
Kappeln
Eckernförde
Kiel
Neustadt
Travemünde
Lübeck
Wismar
Sassnitz
Swinemünde
Stettin
Kolberg
Rügenwalde
Stolpmünde
Gotenhafen
Hela
Danzig
Neukuhren
Pillau
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
GERMANY
BERLIN
POLAND
0
100
miles

Blind optimists

Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz – pictured (centre) with Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini – prioritised military demands during Operation Hannibal

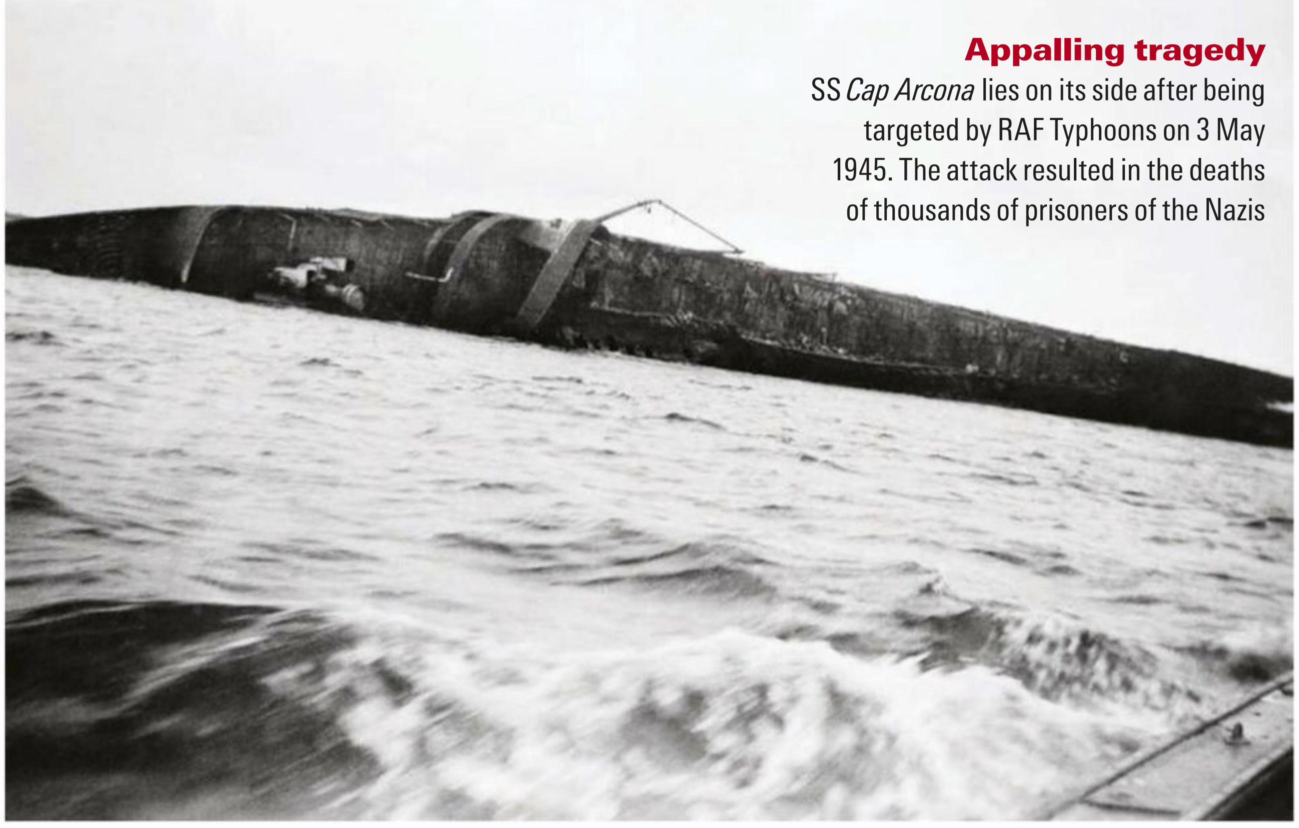
At Dunkirk in 1940, the Royal Navy had still been the world's most powerful navy, but the Kriegsmarine was never large to start with, and had been eviscerated by 1945. What ships remained were rusty and poorly maintained; they suffered from mechanical problems and fuel shortages, and experienced sailors had been stripped out to fight on land. Merchant shipping was in an even worse state, and many of the great liners on which the evacuation depended had not been to sea since the war began. The Allies had total control of the air, the Baltic was heavily mined, and Soviet submarines were becoming bolder, penetrating deep into the western Baltic. It was a brutally cold winter, and many voyages were plagued by ice. The risks were huge.

To carry out Hannibal, Engelhardt had 13 big liners, 25 medium-sized freighters, and hundreds of smaller merchant vessels, including coastal traders, barges and fishing boats. He also had access to most of the Kriegsmarine's remaining warships, including the heavy cruisers *Prinz Eugen* and *Admiral Hipper*, the famous 'pocket battleships' *Admiral Scheer* and *Lützow*, a handful of destroyers and large torpedo boats, several flotillas of minesweepers, and countless smaller auxiliaries and patrol boats.

The first extraction took place on 23 January, when 3,000 refugees were brought safely out of Königsberg and Pillau. Generally, the procedure was to first bring in supplies and ammunition for the armies still fighting in the pockets, a sop to Hitler's orders for everyone to fight to the last. Accompanying warships then expended their ammunition bombarding targets ashore in support of the troops before the force embarked as many refugees as possible and left for the west. This went on consistently for a staggering 115 days, the last evacuations taking place on 9/10 May when the war was technically over.

Just how fraught with danger Operation Hannibal was going to be was graphically illustrated early on, in what was perhaps, in numerical terms, history's greatest maritime tragedy. On 30 January, the former Nazi party 'Strength Through Joy' holiday cruise ship *Wilhelm Gustloff* left Gotenhafen for Flensburg. The 26,000-ton liner was so rammed with refugees that sources rarely agree about just how many people it was carrying, but the total was possibly as high as 10,600, including 5,000 children. She was built to carry just 1,463 passengers, so the conditions aboard can barely be imagined.

WHEN A SOVIET SUB SANK THE WILHELM GUSTLOFF, THE VAST MAJORITY OF ITS 10,600 PASSENGERS WERE DROWNED



Appalling tragedy

SS *Cap Arcona* lies on its side after being targeted by RAF Typhoons on 3 May 1945. The attack resulted in the deaths of thousands of prisoners of the Nazis

Wilhelm Gustloff was steaming slowly, nursing her unreliable engines, and had just one escort, the ex-Norwegian torpedo boat *Löwe*. At 9.08pm, three torpedoes from the Soviet submarine *S13* slammed into her side and the great liner heeled over. Although it took over an hour for her to sink, the crowded conditions aboard, the totally inadequate lifesaving gear, and the freezing water made heavy loss of life almost inevitable. There were fewer than 1,000 survivors. It's impossible to say with any accuracy even today precisely how many died, although the total included well over 4,000 children.

Sixteen-year-old Eva Luck was travelling with her family and was one of the few survivors: "The whole music room tilted, and a great cry went up from all the people there," she recalled later. "They literally slid in a heap along the angled deck. A grand piano… rolled across the crowded room crushing women and children in its path."

As Eva scrambled out on deck, she "saw with horror that the ship's funnel was parallel with the sea… people were jumping in. I could hear the ship's siren and felt the ice-cold water round my legs."

Wilhelm Gustloff was one of a staggering four sinkings during Operation Hannibal in which the loss of life greatly exceeded the estimated 1,500 who perished during the loss of the *Titanic* in 1912. (These terrible statistics provide a dramatic example of how the mass evacuation has been largely overlooked in popular memory.) Ten days later *S13* sank a second ship, the *Steuben*, which went down with the loss of an estimated 4,000 crew and passengers.

Glass, dirt, excrement

By the end of February, some 250 east-west voyages had taken place, with perhaps 300,000 refugees being successfully evacuated. Conditions ashore for the refugees awaiting salvation were desperate. One teacher in Pillau recalled how she could do nothing but "stand around all day with thousands in the filth of the harbour and wait… everywhere broken glass, dirt and excrement". In Danzig, the evacuation continued under fire from Soviet tanks, one Russian gunner remembering how "a gun would fire, then came the explosion of the shell, and another craft capsized and went to the bottom with its load of fascists".

By now the Kriegsmarine's weary ships

GETTY/©THE RIGHTS HOLDER (IWM HU 90931)

Drifting to defeat German soldiers build rafts during their retreat from Soviet forces, East Prussia, March 1945. Few would be fit to fight once the evacuation was over

were starting to fail. On 9 March half of them were reported unserviceable due to mechanical defects or lack of fuel. Despite this attrition, Hannibal continued. Over the night of 4/5 April, German warships managed to extract 8,000 men of 7 Panzer Corps from Oxhöft near Gotenhafen, remarkably bringing out a significant proportion of their equipment as well.

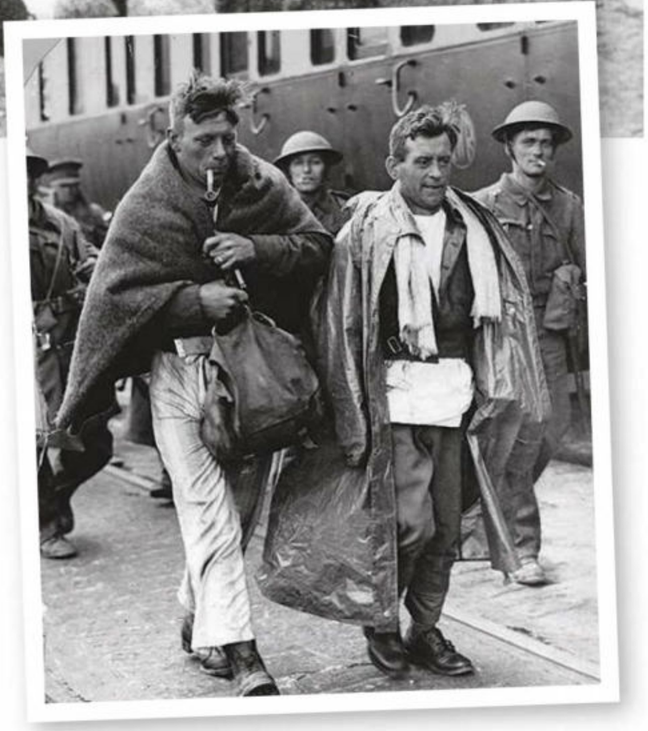
Less than two weeks later a Soviet submarine torpedoed another liner, the *Goya*, drowning up to 7,000 people. The great liners were slow, vulnerable and unreliable, but the situation was desperate, and they could carry huge numbers of people, so Engelhardt had little choice but to keep using them.

Perhaps the most appalling tragedy took place on 3 May 1945, when rocket-firing RAF Typhoon fighter-bombers attacked the *Cap Arcona* north of Lübeck, setting her on fire and eventually sinking her. Unknown to the RAF pilots, *Cap Arcona* was carrying 5,000 prisoners evacuated from concentration camps in the east, most of whom died. The

AKG/GUNDESARCHIV-146-1972-072-05

Into the unknown *Kriegsfischkutter* (literally 'war fishing vessels') sail west from East Prussia, 1945. As at Dunkirk five years earlier, a fleet of small boats played a critical role in the success of Operation Hannibal

Go west Refugees crowd the quayside in the port of Kolberg. Between them and their destination in the west lay freezing waters, mines and enemy submarines



Back on home soil British soldiers following their evacuation from Dunkirk, 1940. Operation Hannibal has been utterly overshadowed by its Allied predecessor, despite dwarfing it in scale

ship was quite close to land and a few managed to struggle ashore, in some cases to be beaten to death by their SS guards, most of whom had escaped safely.

By May it was clear that Germany was finished. The northern ports were falling to Montgomery's advancing British forces, but nevertheless the Kriegsmarine tried desperately to continue the operation with anything that would float. As leading Nazis tried to negotiate a surrender in the west, in the east, in the words of Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, "the struggle continued to rescue as many Germans as possible from bolshevisation and slavery".

On 8 May, with the war essentially over, Kriegsmarine ships made their last run into Hela, evacuating up to 20,000 more refugees. They would undoubtedly have returned for more had the British allowed them. Under Dönitz's leadership, the Kriegsmarine was perhaps the most politicised and loyal of all the three regular services, maintaining discipline and cohesion to the end. It is perhaps unsurprising that Hitler appointed Dönitz as his successor.

IT IS BEYOND IRONIC THAT NAZI OFFICIALS ELBOWED THEIR WAY ON TO THE TRANSPORT SHIPS TO ESCAPE SOVIET JUSTICE

Shocking losses

In total, more than 2 million Germans were estimated to have been evacuated from the east during Operation Hannibal, around three-quarters of them civilians and the rest military personnel. The figure does not include concentration camp prisoners, for whom figures are largely absent and who were certainly not being evacuated to safety.

It was, by any measure, the largest evacuation by sea of modern times, dwarfing the c338,000 evacuated from Dunkirk during Operation Dynamo over nine days in 1940. Nearly 1,000 ships were used, of which 245 were sunk, taking 33,000 evacuees and sailors down with them, mostly on *Wilhelm Gustloff*, *Steuben* and *Goya*. These losses are shocking, but it is important to remember that the Nazi regime was largely responsible for them, as many refugee ships were unmarked, and the regime had ordered that military personnel be carried with civilians. Hard as it may be to accept, most of the ships were probably legitimate targets.

Operation Hannibal was a terrible tragedy. It is of course possible to argue, like Keitel, a man who was later executed for war crimes, that "two million Germans were saved from slavery". But does this really excuse the suffering endured by those who took part?

It is perhaps more important to consider that the whole ghastly exercise could have been avoided had Nazi Germany's fanatical leadership ended the war in January, when it was clear everything was lost. In fact, it can be argued that these desperate efforts to bring Germans to the west unnecessarily prolonged the war. It is beyond ironic that a sizeable, if hard to quantify, number of these 'refugees' were Nazi officials and functionaries, who used their privilege to elbow their way on to the transport ships and escape Soviet justice.

MORE FROM US

For more content on the **Dunkirk evacuation** – including features and podcasts – go to *historyextra.com/tag/dunkirk*

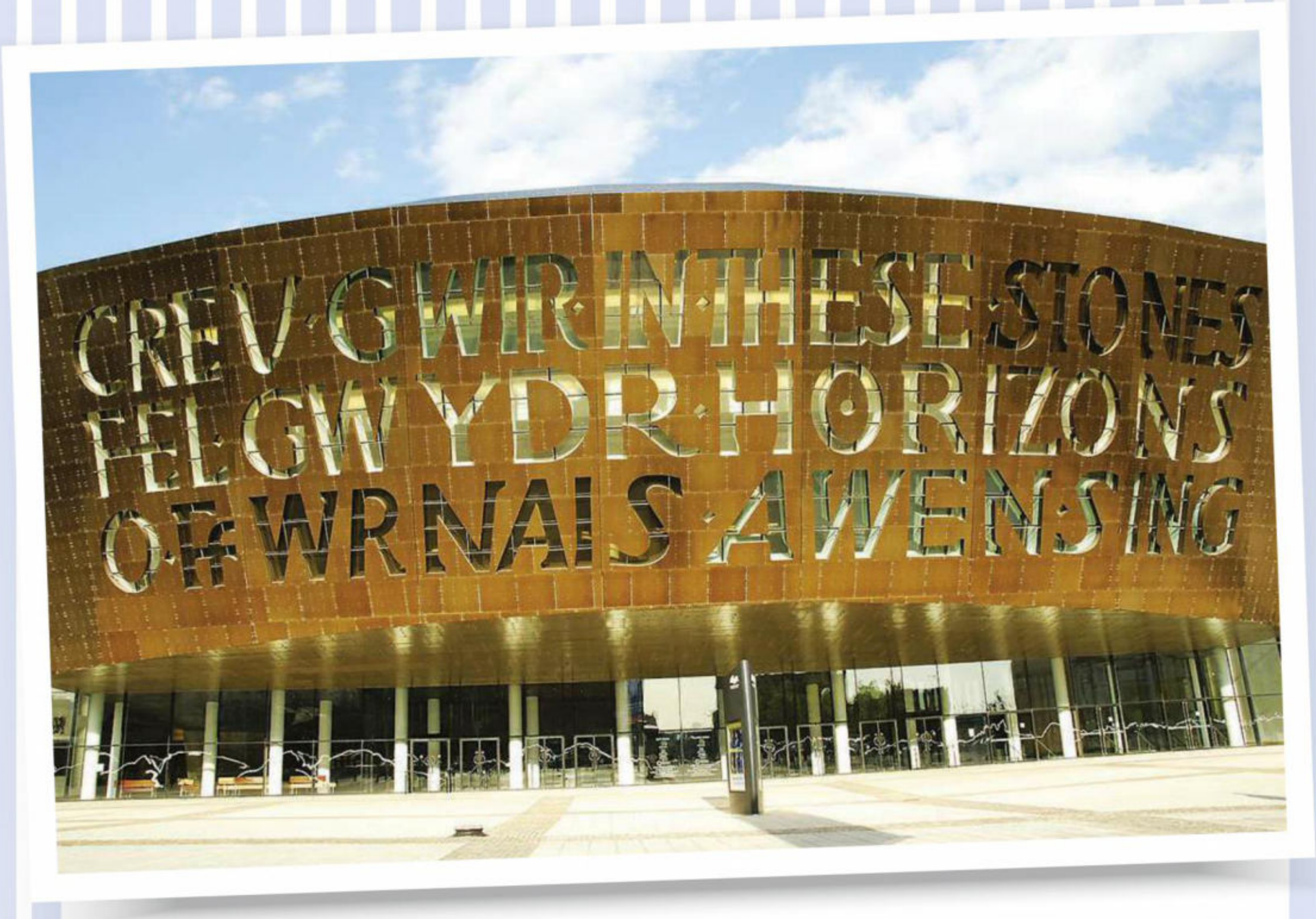
Certainly, the fantasy of bringing troops to the west to continue the fight was delusional: the unarmed, often wounded, ragged, starving remnants of once-proud Wehrmacht formations like Guy Sajer's *Großdeutschland* division were in no condition to go into action again.

Nevertheless, Hannibal remains an extraordinary achievement. One of its tragedies is perhaps that so much heroism, determination and skill was applied in such a misguided cause. And, yet, the evacuation from Dunkirk remains by far the better-known event, in Britain at least.

Perhaps the lack of interest in Hannibal is easily explained. It was carried out in the dying days of a despotic regime. Records and photographs are few and far between, and above all there is perhaps little interest among the victors in the last desperate struggles of a defeated enemy. **H**

Nick Hewitt is an author and naval historian. He is head of collections and research at the National Museum of the Royal Navy

GETTY IMAGES


CREU GWIR FEL GWYDR O FFWRNAIS AWEN
IN THESE STONES HORIZONS SING

"Wales needs to get over England and be Wales again"

Simon Jenkins, presenter of a new Radio 4 documentary on Wales in the 20th century, talks to Elinor Evans about a period that, he argues, was dominated by resentment and decline

DREAMSTIME/DAVID HAMPTON

Accompanies Simon Jenkins' Radio 4 documentary **Wales: A Twentieth-Century Tragedy**

Track record Workers at the Graig Ddu slate quarries in north Wales return home on *car gwyllt* trolleys in 1934. The nation once benefited from an extraordinary wealth of natural resources, including iron, zinc and coal

Your programme *Wales: A Twentieth-Century Tragedy* explores what you frame as the decline of Wales over the past 100 years. Why do you describe it as a "tragedy"?

I think what I mean by this rather controversial title is that Wales – which is the land of my father – was, through much of its history, right back to the Middle Ages, a very prosperous part of the British Isles. It had extraordinary natural resources throughout the 20th century and benefited from them. It was far less poor than Ireland and Scotland, or much of the north and west of England. It had sheep, fertile valleys and uplands; it supplied England with milk. It also had slate, iron, lead, zinc, all these minerals, which it exploited successfully. And then coal. It had a very lively fabric industry and a lot of tourism, it was a beautiful place. Nothing in Wales, with the possible exception of the coal, needed to collapse. Why is it not that way today? That's what fascinates me.

Why was coal so important to Wales at the beginning of the 20th century?

The entire world needed coal. It was simply black gold, produced by huge areas of Glamorgan. In fact, Glamorgan was, for probably as many as 80 years, by far the richest county in Britain. The civic centre of Cardiff – the valleys, the ports and docks – were all centres of wealth. The English didn't steal this wealth; it was Welsh wealth, and most of it stayed in Wales. My father's streets, in the village of Dowlais in Merthyr, were infinitely more substantial, well-built and nice to live in than the ones he went to in Bradford or Lancashire, for instance, where he was appalled at the living conditions of the working class. Wales really was a classy place, and I think, in many ways, the Welsh forget that because they spend so much time moaning.

When you say that Wales "forgets" what a classy place it was, what do you mean?

I've read the figures. I can see that Wales is now one of the poorest regions of the British Isles, and dependent on central government.

Undoubtedly Welsh politics has developed an ingrained language of resentment and grievance. I wouldn't go quite as far as RS Thomas's line "worrying the carcase of an old song" [where the Welsh poet expresses the idea of there being no present and no future – only a past], but there's something about that phrase that does apply to Welsh politics. Time and again, the Welsh component is simply: "Give us a grant." That phrase should be the motto of the Welsh dragon.

It's bad news. It doesn't do you good; it ultimately makes you dependent. And of course, when you don't get the grant, it means the colonial power is against you. This whole psychology, I think, is very unhelpful. I believe that if Wales is to prosper – as I still think it can, because it has so many advantages – it's got to snap out of that sense of grievance and dependency.

> **My father's streets in the village of Dowlais, Merthyr were infinitely nicer to live in than the ones he saw in northern England**

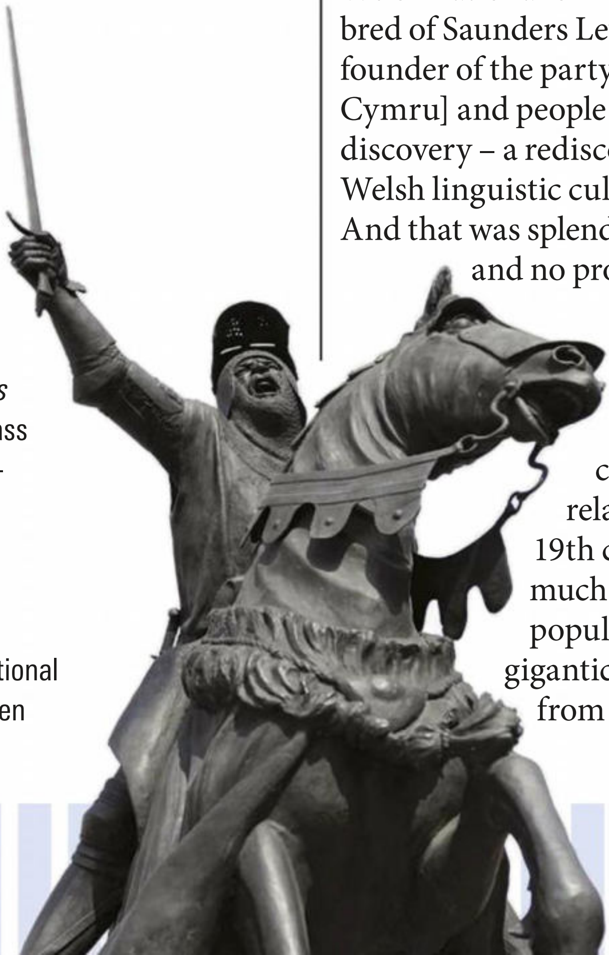
How did these resentments play out politically in the 20th century?

Welsh nationalism was largely cultural and bred of Saunders Lewis [Welsh writer and a founder of the party later known as Plaid Cymru] and people like that. It sprang from a discovery – a rediscovery in many ways – of Welsh linguistic culture and literary culture. And that was splendid and wonderful, and no problem.

The trouble began, I think, with the Depression. This hit Wales hard because the price of coal collapsed. Coal and related industries in the late 19th century employed as much as half the working population of Wales. It was gigantic. But it was no different from wool in Yorkshire or

PREVIOUS PAGE: The Wales Millennium Centre in Cardiff, inscribed with lines by the poet Gwyneth Lewis in Welsh – *Creu gwir fel gwydr o ffwrnais awen* ("Creating truth like glass from inspiration's furnace") – and English: "In these stones horizons sing"

RIGHT: A statue of the Welsh independence fighter and national hero Owain Glyndŵr in Corwen



GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY

cotton in Lancashire, or fish in Grimsby. The concept of a one-industry region is not unique to Wales. What *was* unique to Wales was its difficulty in overcoming its decline – and there can be no denying that the decline of coal was dramatic and traumatic.

One consequence in Wales, a highly controversial one, was that bright people fled – my father being one of them. It was a source of pride to my grandfather that almost all of his children "got out". Left behind was a sense of resentment and failure, covering not just individual families or villages and towns but a political community that never let it go. The result of that was a complaint that you hear all the time: "It's unfair, we're maltreated, we're oppressed." You don't hear this phraseology in Liverpool or Newcastle or Southampton. And it's overlaid with a sense of national insecurity.

In 1998, the new government agreed to give the Scots, the Northern Irish and the Welsh a degree of autonomy. Devolution was a great step forward for Wales, a moment of what should have been huge pride. I still think it was a good idea; Welsh politics was transformed by it. And it did stop people complaining so much and made them more self-reliant. The political identity that emerged from devolution is still there, ready and waiting.

But devolution was not translated into what it should have become, which was a beacon of good, decentralised government on the west coast of Britain.

What are the historical reasons for this "national insecurity"?

I think it's probably natural. I've tried to study roughly equivalent groups across Europe, such as the Basques, the Catalans, the Bretons, the Walloons in Belgium – groups who, for some reason, feel they've never got a fair crack of the whip from some confederacy, which is what the United Kingdom is. The complication is always that the best people in these communities tend to drift away to the more successful other end. There are endless studies of rail and transport links. Whom do they benefit? They always benefit the more powerful end of the link – they always disadvantage the least powerful end. TGV in France, in every case, is shown as having benefited Paris. HS2 will benefit London, whatever anyone says. Dr Samuel Johnson said: "The noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees is the high road that leads him to England!" I'm afraid the same is true in Wales.

In communities I know reasonably well, the successful, bright people have left. It's heartbreaking to say so, but it's true, and they've got to find a way of getting them back or replacing them. To get them back will be very difficult. But the new blood – and this certainly applies to rural Wales – has got to come from newcomers, and those newcomers will mostly be English. They've got to welcome them, make them feel at home, make them feel they're going to make some money there. I just think it's critical.

In 1916, David Lloyd George became the UK's first Welsh prime minister. Surely that appointment was a sign that Wales was central to the union's progress?

I don't think that Lloyd George is very relevant to it. I mean, he left Wales and went back when dying. In many ways, Lloyd George was a classic Welshman, but no different from how Gladstone was a classic Lancastrian. These men came from the provinces to London and did very well. The question for these provinces is: how do you get them back? You need to find a reason for people not to leave.

GETTY IMAGES

Flying the flag 'Yes' campaigners celebrate victory in a pre-legislative referendum on Welsh devolution in 1997. The Welsh assembly opened in 1999

TIMELINE WALES: FROM CONQUEST TO DEVOLUTION

● 13th century: Edward's conquest

Until the 1270s, Wales is ruled by Anglo-Norman 'marcher lords' (rulers of the borders) and native Welsh princes. But then, in 1277, Edward I of England leads a campaign to crush rebellion. Wales is brought under English law and Edward installs his son as the first English Prince of Wales in 1301.

● 15th century: The rise of Glyndŵr

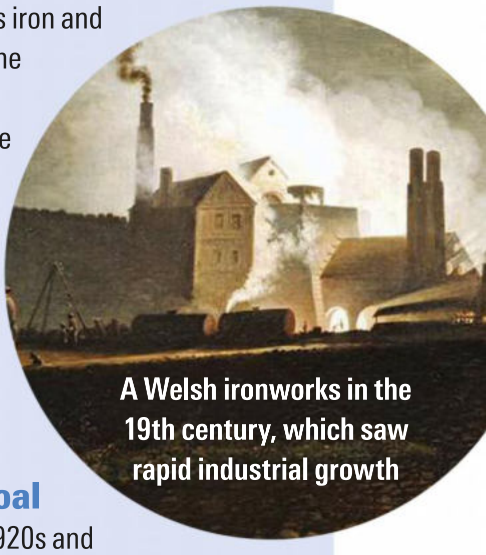
In 1400, native resentment explodes into a rebellion under a descendant of the princes of northern Powys, Owain Glyndŵr. Any hope stirred by this short-lived movement is crushed by 1408, resulting in violent retaliations across Wales.

● 16th century: Acts of union

Two acts of union in 1536 and 1542–43, during the reign of Henry VIII, abolish any legal difference between Wales and England. The first act also lays down that English is to be the only language of the courts of Wales, and those using the Welsh language are not to receive public office.

● Late 18th century: A coal revolution

The industrial revolution brings wealth and urbanisation to Wales as iron and coal-mining transform the region. The explosion of industry also brings huge population growth: between 1861 and 1911, more than 227,000 people move from England to the south Wales coalfields.



A Welsh ironworks in the 19th century, which saw rapid industrial growth

● 1920s–1930s: The collapse of coal

The Depression of the 1920s and 1930s, and a coal market recession, lead to mass migration out of Wales. By 1936, south Wales has lost 241 mines.

● 1950–60s: A renewed identity

A Minister for Welsh Affairs is created in 1951 and Cardiff is declared capital in 1955. Events including the destruction of Capel Celyn – a Welsh-speaking community – to create a reservoir for Liverpool in 1965 lead to significant anger in the country.

● 1980s: The end for 'black gold'

As more British mines become unprofitable, miners go on strike to save an industry that was once the biggest employer in Wales. The ensuing deprivation is the death knell for many communities. The industry is finally privatised in 1994.

● 1990s: The road to devolution

Following Labour's victory under Tony Blair in 1997, Wales is promised devolved power. In May 1999, the new Welsh assembly is officially opened.

So far, you've predominantly talked about politics and economics. But what about Welsh culture. How key is that to the nation's prosperity?

There are two sides to Welsh culture. On the one hand, the Welsh language is splendid. It's one of the great Celtic cultures of Europe and it's alive. You do sense a specialness about it. I love listening to the *penillion* [Welsh folk singing]. Where I'm alarmed is at its imposition on people who are just not a part of it. I mean, it's exactly what they claim the English did when they invaded Wales. It's the element of compulsion – tricks like printing official documents in which the Welsh is in black text and the English is in red. Things like that divide people and deter outsiders from coming in. I just think it's economically a bad idea, even if it's culturally a good idea.

I think nothing would work better for Welsh culture than the revival of the Welsh economy, a confidence in Welsh towns and cities that have a viable economic future, and people flocking to Wales because they want to be there.

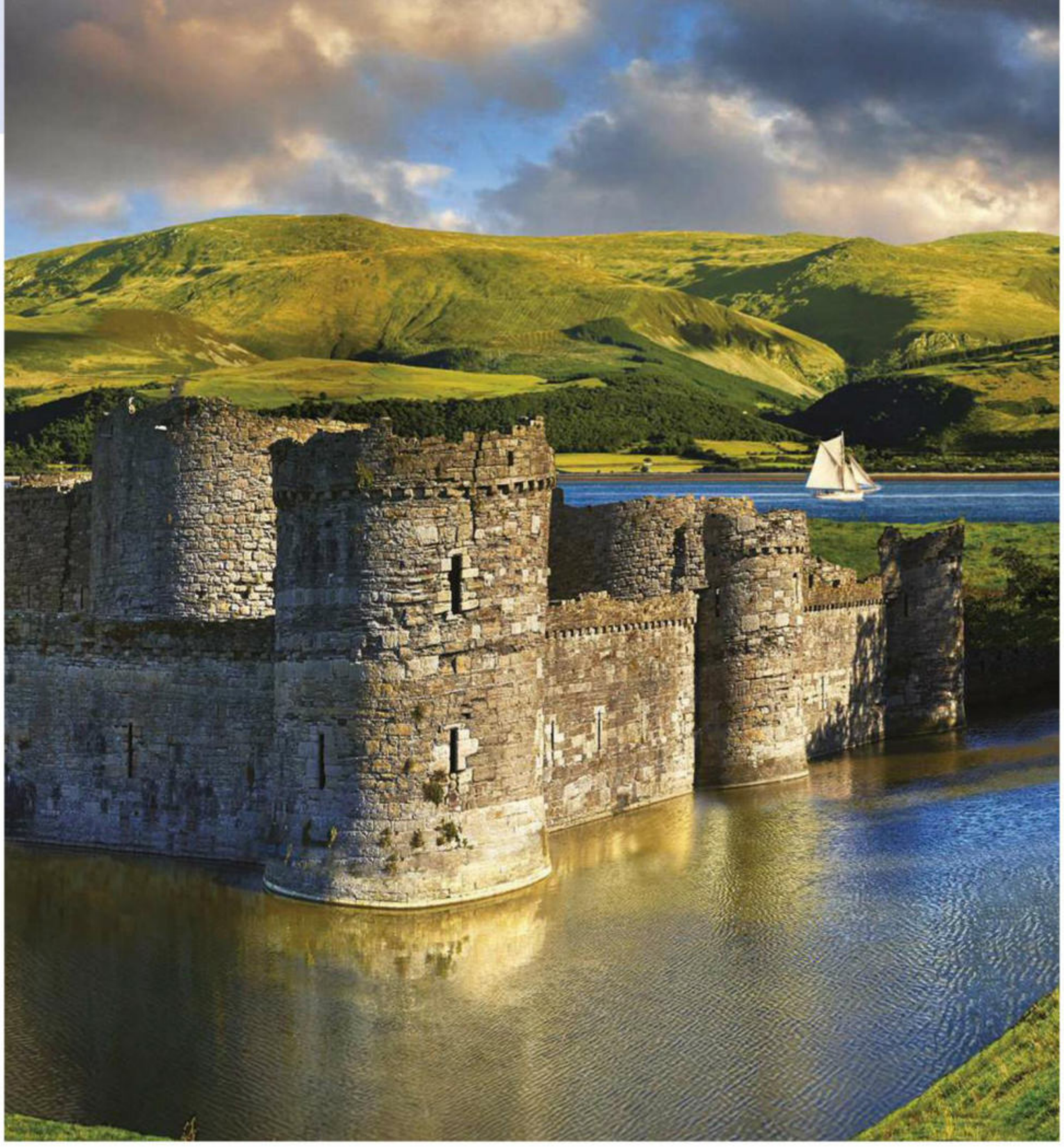
I think the culture of Wales, which is one of its most unique characteristics, is absolutely safe; it will not die out. The only thing that will make it die out is if it's compulsory. I once said that I honestly think the best thing for the Welsh language is to ban it. Then it will flourish.

How do you think England perceives Wales at the moment?

I did a book on English history five years ago. Complaints came in: "Why have you done it on England and not Wales and Scotland, for that matter?" And I said: "Because it happens to be a history of England." And they said: "Well, can't you be more broad-minded?" No, it's a history book about England.

I'll tell you one thing: English people are not the slightest bit interested in Wales. They're mildly interested in Scotland, largely because of Mary, Queen of Scots and Macbeth. No one has a clue about Wales. How many English people know about Hywel Dda? How many really know about Llywelyn the Great? They might as well be in Arabia.

Now, that's the fault of English education, but it is also the case that this is a very unknown territory. And I think it's one reason why, for instance, English tourists don't go to Wales as much as they should. It is an unknown country. And I think that's why, at its most crude, house prices are so much lower than they are in England. There is no big demand. I'm afraid the answer to your question is: England is not very interested in Wales.


Hold the fort Beaumaris Castle in Anglesey, built as part of Edward I's campaign to conquer north Wales. Some people in Wales are ambivalent about celebrating castles that were constructed by the English

> " How many English people know about Hywel Dda? How many really know about Llywelyn the Great? They might as well be in Arabia "

In your view, what does Wales most need to 'get over' in order to move forward?

I think Wales has to get over England – it really has to. England treated it terribly, but that was in the 13th century. I was once talking to the Welsh minister of culture about how undersold I thought the great castles of Wales were – they're the greatest collection of castles in Europe. He looked at me incredulously and said: "Why should we give publicity to English castles?" I could not believe I was hearing this from someone in charge of tourism. That's the problem. If you hate your neighbour that much, you aren't going to get any help from them in the long term. And I think if Wales could get over England and become Wales again, it would do it nothing but good. H

MORE FROM US

You can listen to **Simon discuss Wales in the 20th century** on our podcast: *historyextra.com/podcast*

Sir Simon Jenkins is a former editor of the *Evening Standard* and *The Times*. From 2008 14 he chaired the National Trust. His Radio 4 documentary *Wales: A Twentieth Century Tragedy* is due to air in March

ALAMY

BBC

Collector's Edition

The Story of the Napoleonic Wars

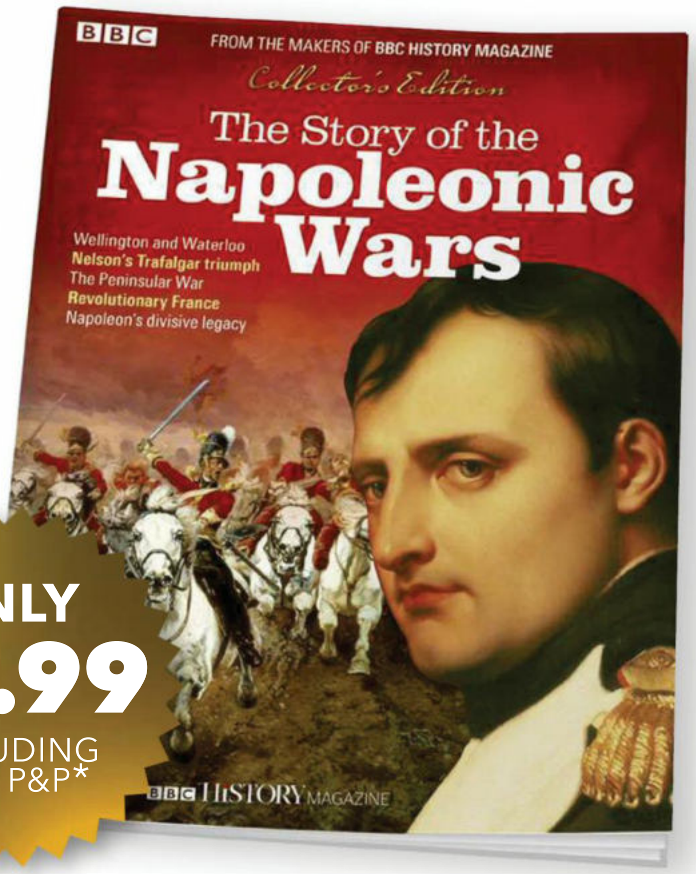
FROM THE MAKERS OF BBC HiSTORY MAGAZINE

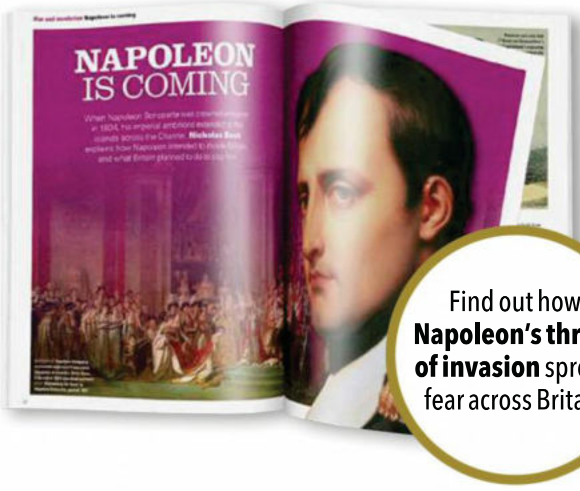
This new special edition explores the dramatic clashes and campaigns fought across Europe at the turn of the 19th century. Discover:

- How Napoleon seized power in Revolutionary France
- The chain of events leading to the Duke of Wellington's famous victory at Waterloo
- Why the Peninsular War proved so costly for the French
- How Lord Nelson masterminded Britain's naval triumph at the battle of Trafalgar
- The impact of the Napoleonic Wars across the globe – from India to Latin America

PLUS – subscribers to *BBC History Magazine* receive FREE UK postage on this special edition

ONLY £9.99 INCLUDING FREE P&P*


BBC
FROM THE MAKERS OF BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE
Collector's Edition
The Story of the Napoleonic Wars
Wellington and Waterloo
Nelson's Trafalgar triumph
The Peninsular War
Revolutionary France
Napoleon's divisive legacy
BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE


NAPOLEON IS COMING

Find out how **Napoleon's threat of invasion** spread fear across Britain

Napoleon's 'Spanish ulcer'

Discover the major battles of the **Peninsular War** in Spain and Portugal

WATERLOO
10 moments that decided the campaign

Learn about the pivotal moments that led to Napoleon's defeat at **Waterloo**

Order online **www.buysubscriptions.com/napoleon**
or call us on **03330 162 138**+ and quote NAPOLEON PRINT 1

+ UK calls will cost the same as other standard fixed line numbers (starting 01 or 02) and are included as part of any inclusive or free minutes allowances (if offered by your phone tariff). Outside of free call packages call charges from mobile phones will cost between 3p and 55p per minute. Lines are open Mon to Fri 8am – 6pm and Sat 9am – 1pm.
* Subscribers to *BBC History Magazine* receive FREE UK POSTAGE on this special edition. Prices including postage are: £11.49 for all non-subscribers, £12.99 for Europe and £13.49 for the Rest of World. All orders subject to availability. Please allow up to 21 days for delivery.

BBC HiSTORY MAGAZINE

Save when you subscribe to the digital edition

BBC
HOW DARK WERE THE DARK AGES?
GERMANY'S DUNKIRK
HiSTORY MAGAZINE
BRITAIN'S BESTSELLING HISTORY MAGAZINE
£5.50 / March 2020 / www.historyextra.com
HENRY V'S GREATEST VICTORY (AND IT WASN'T AGINCOURT)
HELL AT GLENCOE The Highland massacre of 1692
CAT BURGLARS 1920s criminal heart-throbs
Georgian terrorists The bungled plot to kill the cabinet
SMILING VICT
HAPPINESS IN THE 19
THE FILTH MIDDLE AGES?
Why medieval people were cleaner than we think
George Orwell's defence of democracy
"A terrifying leap into the dark"
Why English Puritans set sail on the Mayflower
E LITTLE ICE AGE
YEARS OF FROSTS, FLOODS & FAMINE
REAT
MADA MYTH
debunks Elizabeth I's finest hour
Could medieval England have converted to Islam?
The woman who gave rth to rabbits in 1726
ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE
THE FALL OF ROMAN BRITAIN

Available from

GET IT ON Google play

zinio™

amazon apps Available on kindle fire

BBC History Magazine is Britain's bestselling history magazine. We feature leading historians writing lively and thought-provoking new takes on the great events of the past.

Henry V's greatest victory
Henry V is best known as the brilliant warrior who won the day at Agincourt. But he was also a master diplomat, says Anne Curry, and he proved as much in the city of Troyes 600 years ago, when he was declared heir to the French throne
HISTORY
HENRY V'S GREATEST VICTORY (AND IT WASN'T AGINCOURT)

Enjoy our Premium App experience now available from

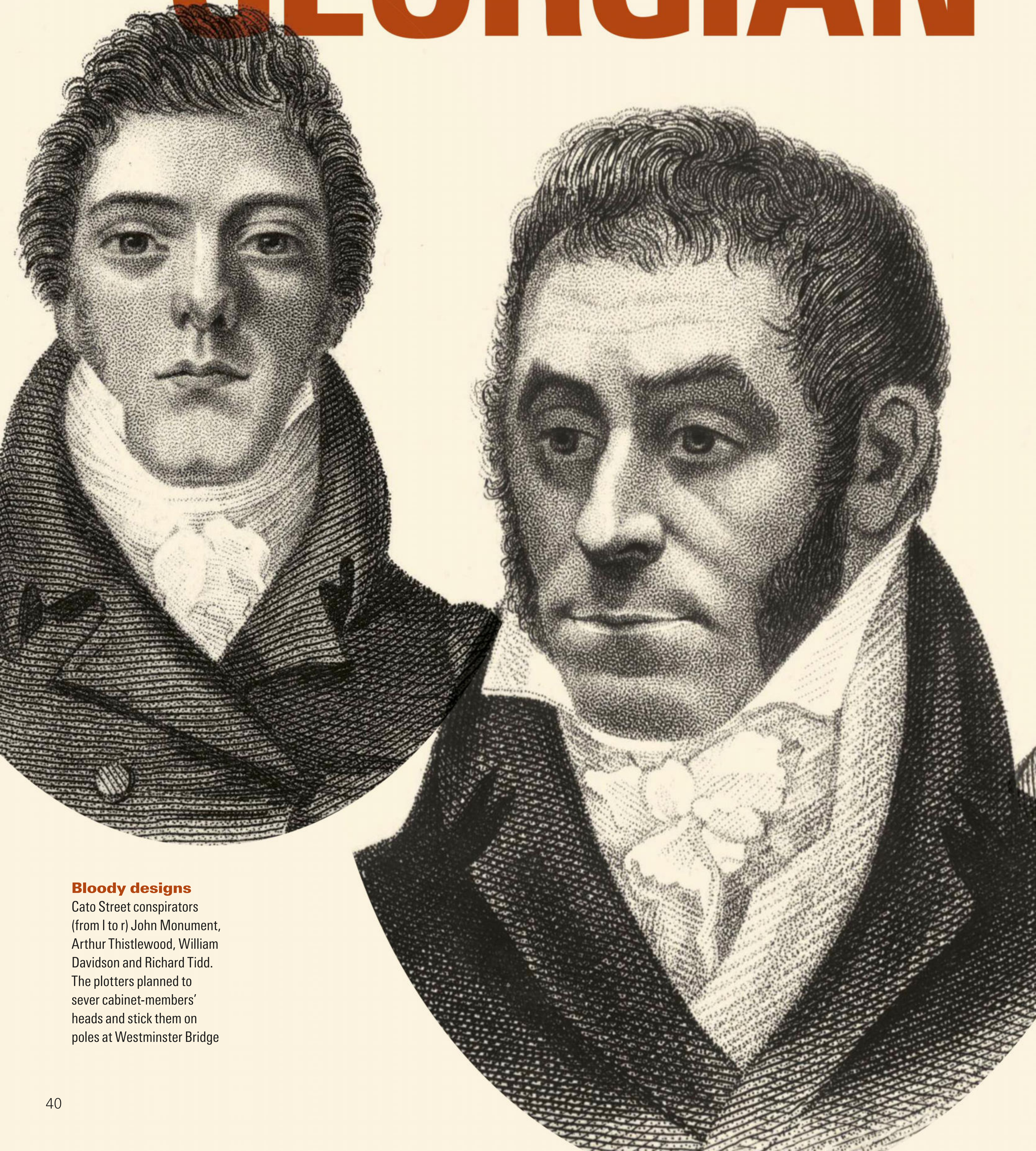
GET IT ON Google play

zinio™

amazon apps Available on kindle fire

BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE

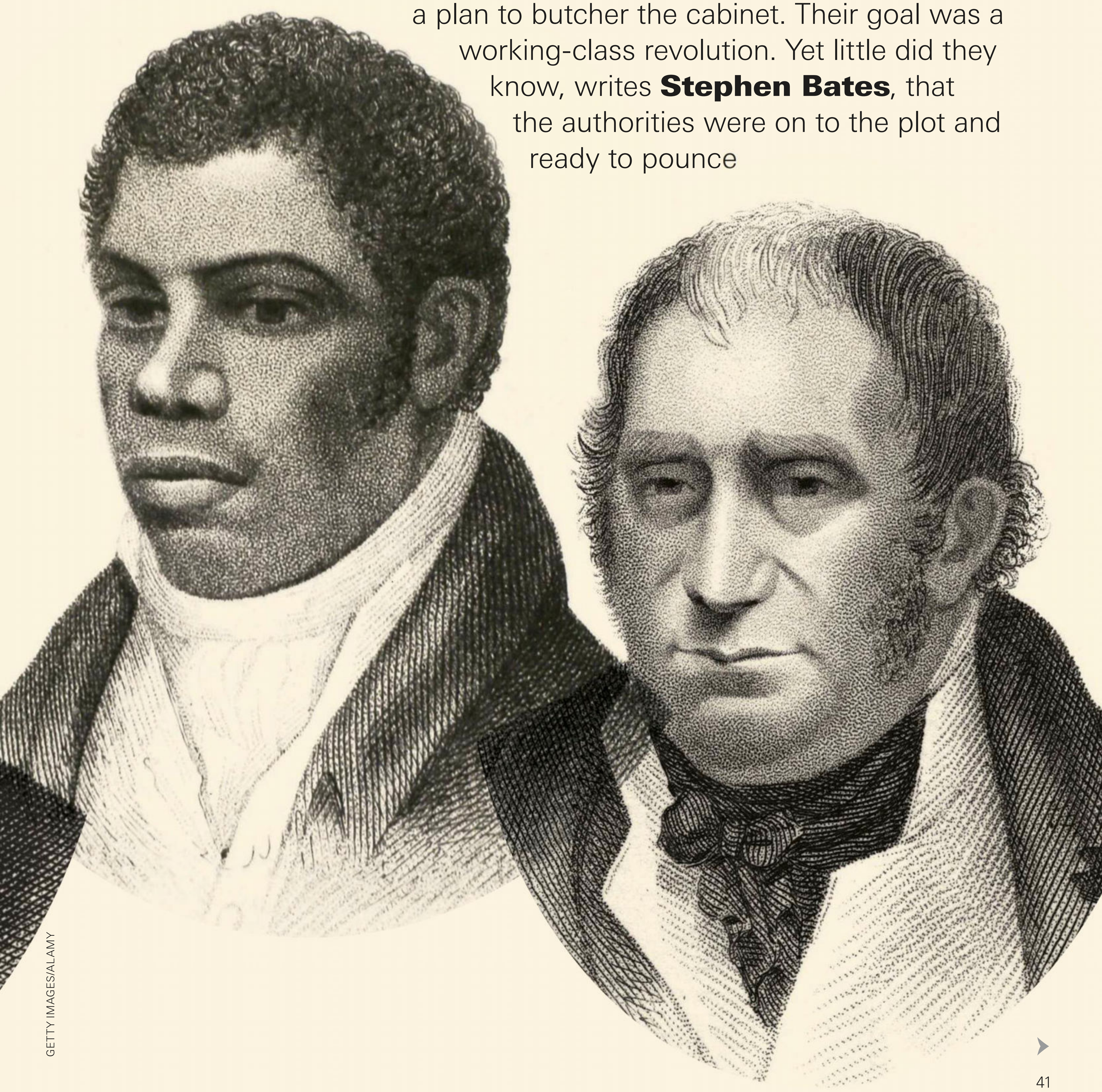
GEORGIAN



Bloody designs
Cato Street conspirators (from l to r) John Monument, Arthur Thistlewood, William Davidson and Richard Tidd. The plotters planned to sever cabinet-members' heads and stick them on poles at Westminster Bridge

TERRORISTS

Two centuries ago, a group of political radicals hatched a plan to butcher the cabinet. Their goal was a working-class revolution. Yet little did they know, writes **Stephen Bates**, that the authorities were on to the plot and ready to pounce



GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY

In the early evening of 23 February 1820 a group of desperate men gathered in the hay loft above dilapidated stables in a dead end side street off London's Edgware Road. Their intention was to kill the entire British cabinet as its members sat at dinner, in a theatrical act of political terrorism of a sort with which we are familiar across the world these days, but which 200 years ago was unprecedented.

The conspirators would decapitate the ministers with butchers' knives, sticking their heads on poles at Westminster Bridge, and also cut the hands off the hated Lord Castlereagh, foreign secretary.

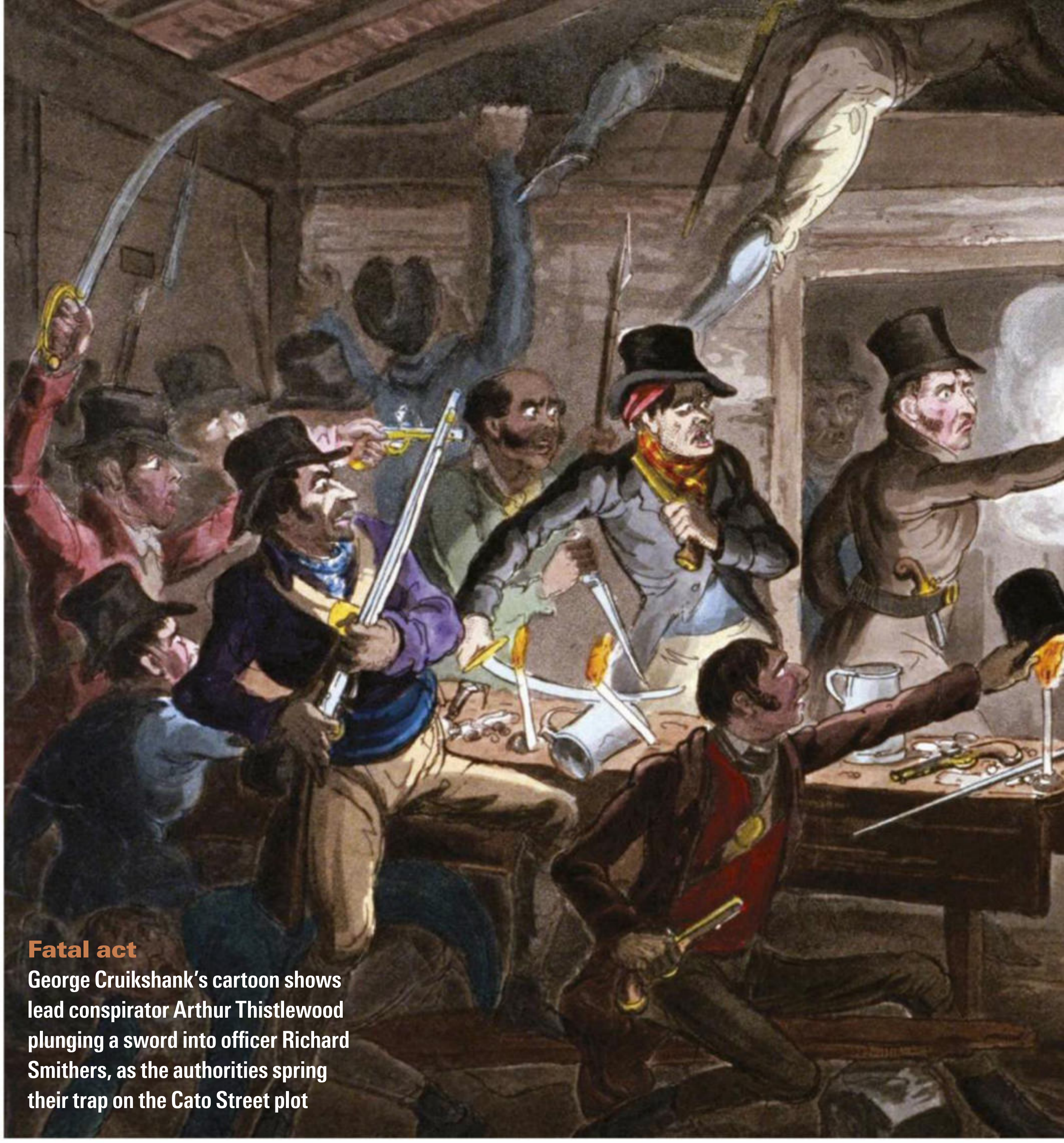
In spontaneous rejoicing, the working class would rise, they believed, just as they had done in the French Revolution 30 years earlier. The coinage of the Bank of England would be distributed to the poor, its paper notes burned – they seemed worthless and untrustworthy as currency anyway – and land would be held in common for the good of all. "Your tyrants are destroyed!" a manifesto would proclaim. "The provisional government is now sitting."

But as the men buckled up in the hay loft in Cato Street, sticking swords and pistols in their belts, ready for what their leader Arthur Thistlewood called the "West End Job", the details of the plan remained hazy. Only about 20 plotters had turned up (it's possible that Thistlewood was hoping for as many as 50). All were impoverished and close to starvation – they had had trouble rustling up a pound for a celebratory drink a few days earlier – and now some were getting cold feet as the impracticalities of the venture became clear.

If 14 of the plotters were required to invade the mansion where the ministers were dining – as Thistlewood insisted – how could the remaining six seize control of two artillery cannon in Gray's Inn Road and another six at the Artillery Ground in Finsbury in order to secure the city?

Thistlewood attempted to reassure them: "For God's sake do not think of dropping the business now." Assassinating the cabinet would only take 10 minutes. The house servants were unarmed and, if any attempted to raise the alarm, they would be killed. Reminding ministers of the Peterloo massacre six months earlier, when 18 peaceful demonstrators had been killed by cavalry at a political meeting in Manchester, Thistlewood intended to burst in crying: "Well, my lords, I have as good men here as the Manchester Yeomanry. Enter citizens and do your duty!"

In truth, Thistlewood had not worked out the details of the plot because he'd devised it so hurriedly. The original plan, discussed a few months earlier, had been to drop bombs on the heads of MPs in the Commons chamber, but that had been abandoned as impractical. Then an opportunity seemed to present itself. George III, old, mad and blind, locked up in Windsor Castle for years, had finally died three weeks earlier. The plotters confidently expected that the cavalry and troops normally stationed at the Tower of London would be otherwise engaged – deployed to guard the funeral and the new king, George IV.



Fatal act
George Cruikshank's cartoon shows lead conspirator Arthur Thistlewood plunging a sword into officer Richard Smithers, as the authorities spring their trap on the Cato Street plot

Better still, the day before the plotters gathered in the hay loft, one of Thistlewood's most trusted lieutenants, George Edwards, had seen an announcement in a paper called the *New Times* that the cabinet would be dining together, for the first time since the king's death, at the home of the Earl of Harrowby, lord president of the Council, in Grosvenor Square. There was no time to lose.

What Thistlewood did not know, however, was that Edwards, a modeller of plaster ornaments – he had run a shop in Eton High Street where he sold images of the hated headmaster to the boys for target practice – was now a government spy. Notification of the dinner was in only one newspaper and, as it had been planted there, it was no coincidence that Edwards had spotted it and brought the story to Thistlewood's attention. Nor was Edwards the only spy in the room: Thomas Hiden, who kept cows and sold milk, had approached the Earl of Harrowby when he was out riding the previous day, to tell him of the plot.

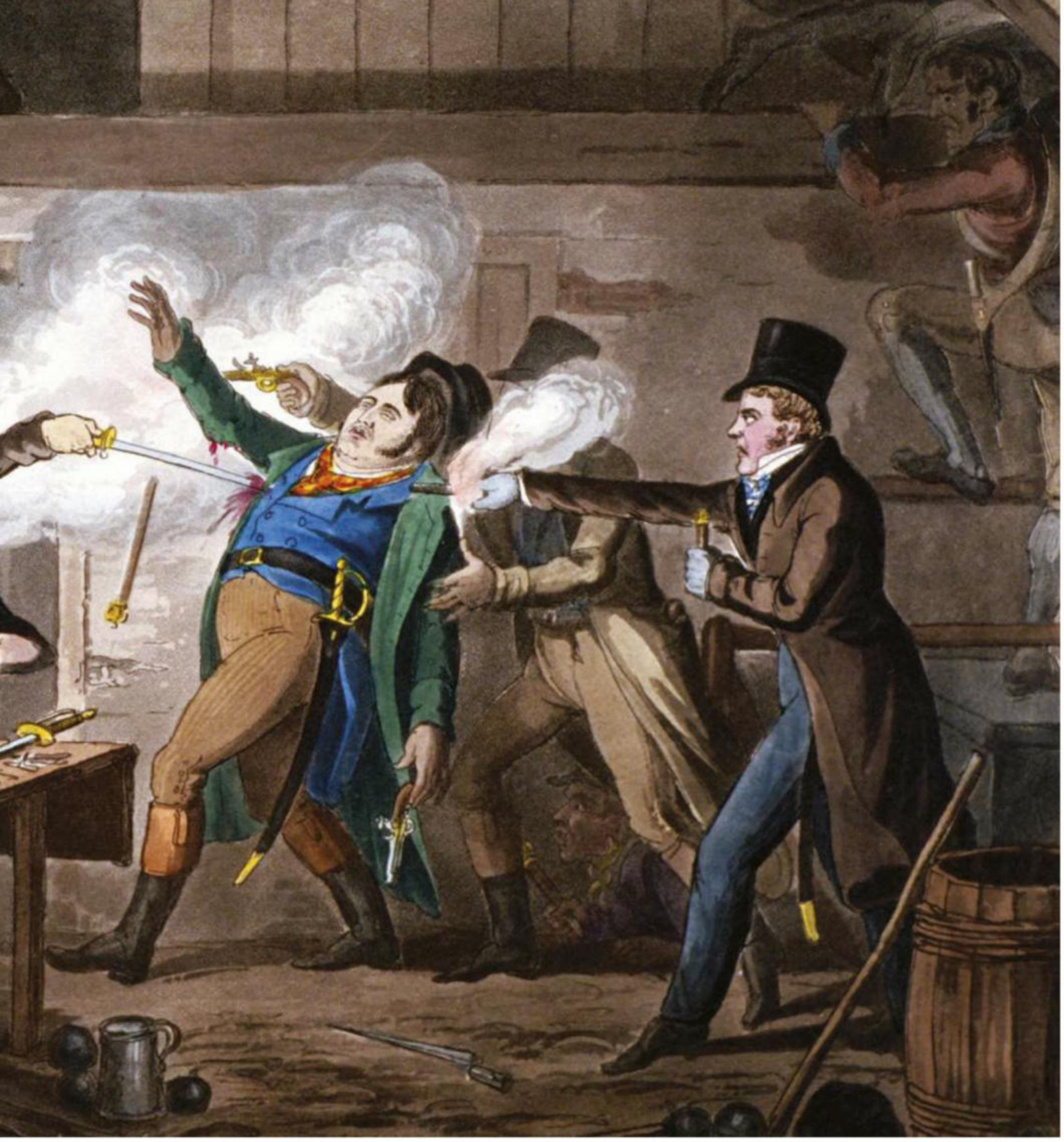
Failed farmer

As it was, the government already knew all about Thistlewood. The 44-year-old illegitimate son of a Lincolnshire stockman, he had initially trained as a surveyor and served briefly as an ensign in the West Yorkshire militia before failing at farming. Thistlewood moved to London in about 1810 and, embittered, became involved in a series of radical causes, including a move to invite Napoleon to invade Britain and restore a supposed Saxon constitution.

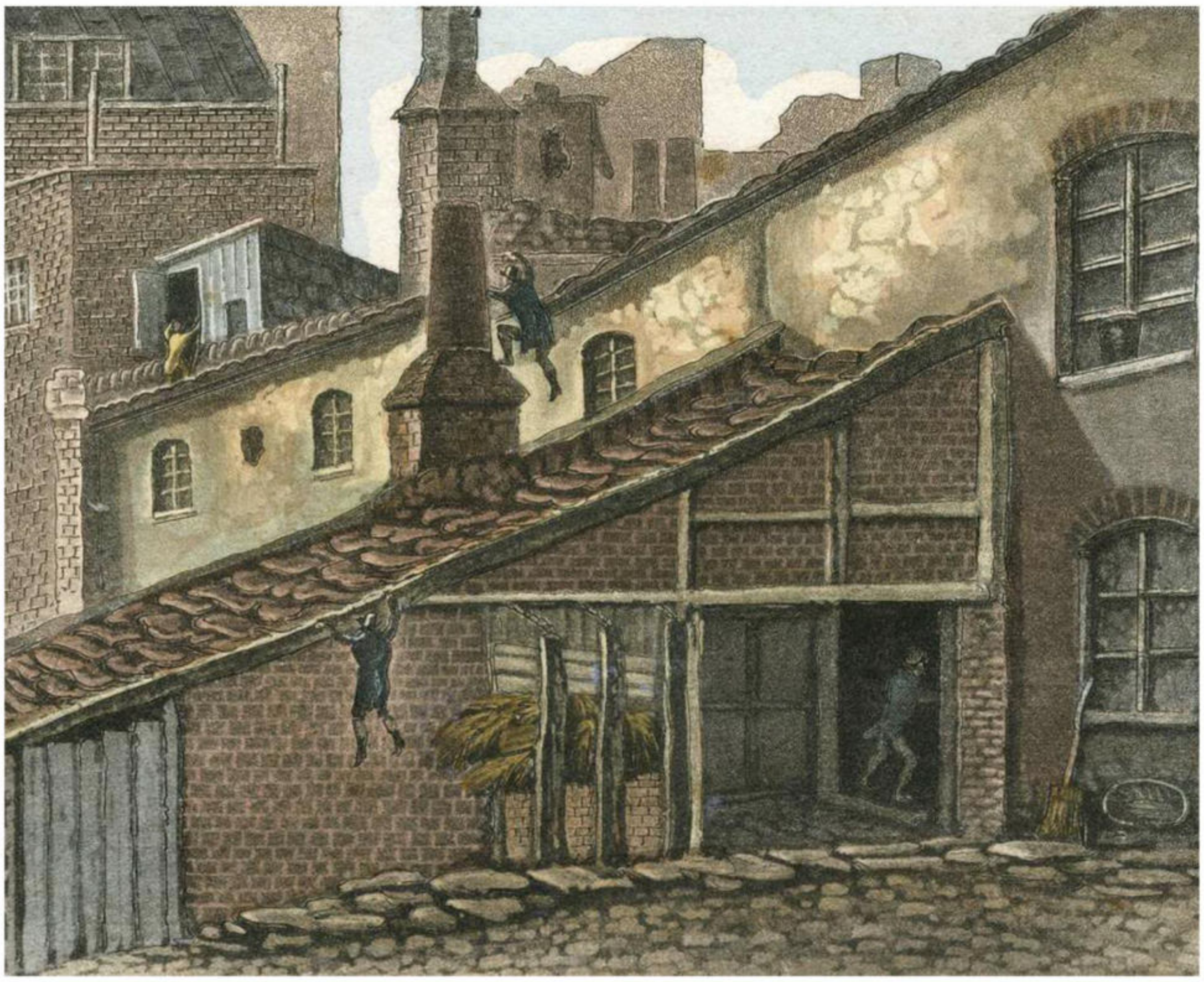
Thistlewood also became a Spencean, a follower of the radical pamphleteer and bookseller Thomas Spence, who had advocated that all land should be held in common, administered by parishes and rented out to local inhabitants. Parliament's wealthy landowners regarded this as subversive and revolutionary, and had repeatedly had Spence arrested for sedition before his death in 1814.

Thistlewood came to the attention of the authorities as one of the ringleaders of a mob's attempt to storm the Bank of England following a political reform meeting at Spa Fields in Clerkenwell in December 1816. Arrested on a charge of high treason, he was

GETTY IMAGES



Rooftop getaway As the Bow Street Runners raid the Cato Street hay loft, conspirators attempt to make their escape. Most of the fugitives were rapidly run to ground



MARY EVANS

Acts of political terrorism like this are familiar today, but they were unprecedented 200 years ago

acquitted at a trial in June 1817 after the crown's chief witness was exposed as a liar and agent provocateur. Thistlewood had also tried to emigrate to America, but lacked the money for a ticket so he was still about on the fringes of the political reform movement. His recklessness and vehemence meant other radicals, such as Henry 'Orator' Hunt, the putative speaker at the Peterloo demonstration, and Francis Burdett, the MP for Westminster, would have nothing to do with him.

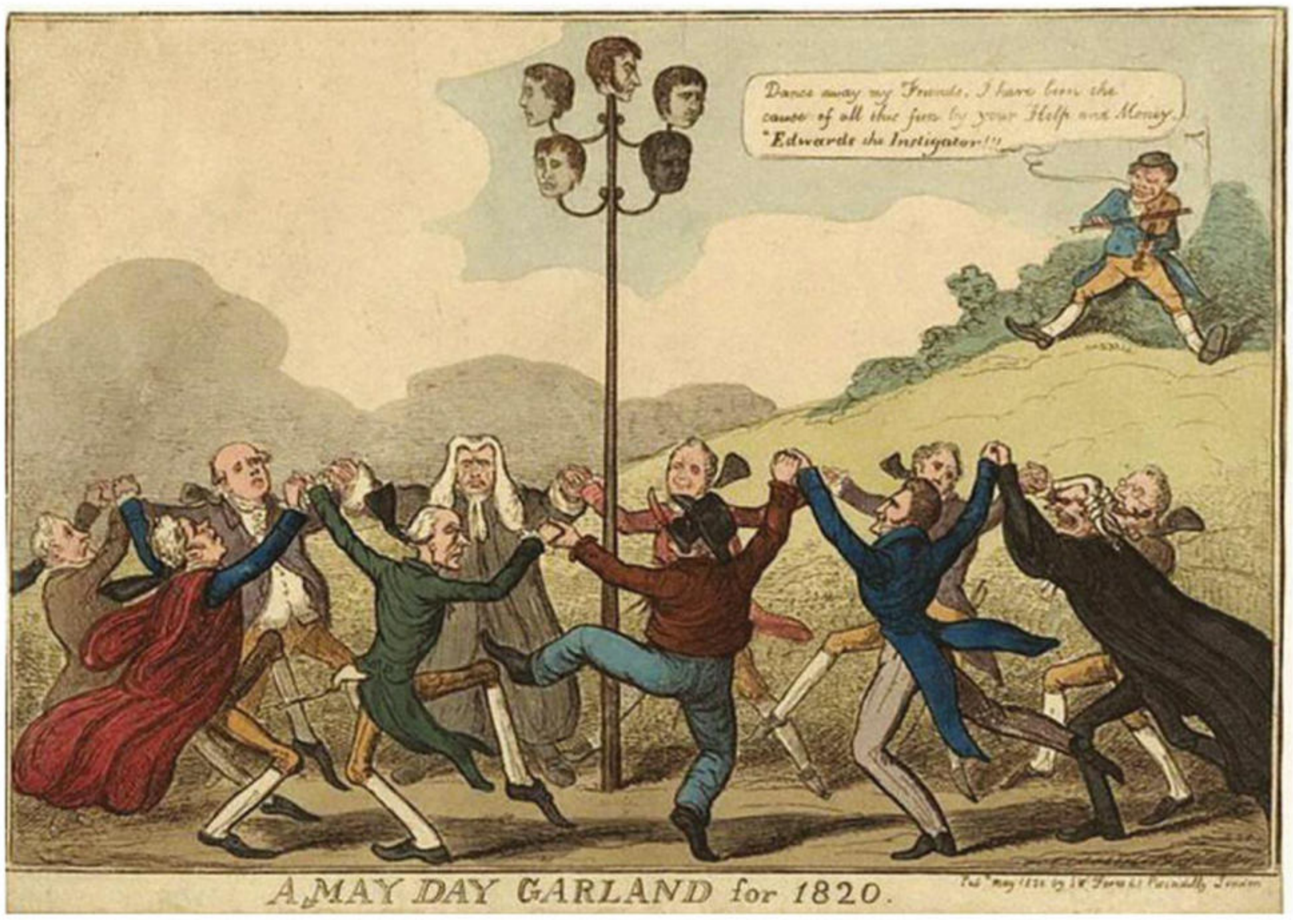
Physical force factions

Political radicals calling for parliamentary reform divided into broadly two factions during the first half of the 19th century: those like the Manchester crowd, and later the Chartists, believing in moral persuasion to effect change; and physical force supporters such as Thistlewood who thought only violence would achieve results. The physical force factions had staged a series of small scale and diffuse uprisings over the previous decades. Colonel Edward Despard, a disgruntled Irish officer, attempted to recruit Irish labourers in London to join a rising and was executed at the turn of the 19th century; Luddites smashed the new machinery being introduced in mills; Derbyshire farm labourers briefly marched; and the Spencean-organised Spa Fields meeting descended into chaos.

Prime minister Lord Liverpool's Tory government, fearing revolution, reacted with repression and (in the absence of a civilian police force) with spies and informers, the deployment of the army and savage punishment of ringleaders. In return, the Spenceans decided that mass meetings and petitions would never work and a coup was needed: "They say the philanthropy and benevolence… will never effect any change and that Luddism is best calculated for the times," one spy told the government. A succession of bad harvests and declining wages after the end of the Napoleonic Wars seemed to make those times propitious.

So far Thistlewood had eluded the authorities but he was being watched, and

An executioner completed the punishment by hacking off the plotters' heads with a butcher's knife


Dance away my Friends, I have been the cause of all this fun by your Help and Money.
"Edwards the Instigator!!!
A MAY DAY GARLAND for 1820.

Dance of death This hand-coloured etching from 1820 shows ministers – among them Lord Castlereagh and Viscount Sidmouth – capering around a maypole below the severed heads of five Cato Street conspirators. They are dancing to a fiddle played by the government infiltrator George Edwards (top right), who says: "Dance away my friends. I have been the cause of all this fun by your help and money"

Edwards, who had been working for the government in return for money, had infiltrated his group. He may even have suggested the assassination plot.

The men gathering in the loft that evening were largely tradesmen who had drifted into London from the country, where hunger, business failures and lack of work had made them desperate. All were literate. They included James Ings, a Hampshire butcher; Richard Tidd, a Lincolnshire shoemaker; Thomas Brunt, a London bootcloser; and William Davidson, an unemployed cabinetmaker. Davidson was of mixed race, having been born in Jamaica where his father had been attorney general. Davidson had once studied to be a lawyer himself before taking up an apprenticeship and joining the radical movement. He was spotted a few months earlier carrying a banner bearing the words: "Let Us Die Like Men and Not Be Sold as Slaves" at a meeting in Smithfield.

Of course there was not going to be a cabinet dinner that evening. Castlereagh and his colleagues briefly discussed lying in wait for the assassins and attacking them first, but that was decided to be impractical and dangerous. Instead, Bow Street Runners (members of London's first professional police force) placed the Cato Street stables under surveillance. At one point, Thistlewood had stared hard at them as he brushed past, but had gone on in.

Now, with a detachment of the Coldstream Guards waiting nearby, the Bow Street Runners sprang into action. They had already been issued with warrants detailing the names of all those to be arrested and, led by an officer called George Ruthven, they rushed into the stables and started to climb a ladder which was the only way into the loft. Upstairs they found the group of heavily armed and frightened men milling about in the candlelight. Thistlewood seized a long sword and thrust it into the chest of an officer named Richard Smithers, who was trying to arrest him. "Oh my God, I am done," Smithers cried as he collapsed and died.

The battle was now taking place in darkness, with the officers forced back down the ladder and the conspirators trying to escape through upper windows. Some were apprehended outside and others, including Thistlewood, disappeared into the shadows. He made the mistake of trusting George Edwards, who suggested he should hole up in lodgings at Whitecross Street, Moorfields and then proceeded to tell the authorities where they could find him the next morning. Davidson was captured outside the stables with an incriminating list of names and addresses of the nobility, and most of the others were rapidly run to ground too.

Several of those left in the loft turned king's evidence and, at the subsequent trial, gave evidence against the five men singled out for a charge of high treason: Thistlewood, Ings, Tidd, Brunt and Davidson. A further five of those who had been present were transported to Australia. There was no prospect the men on trial would get off, and the testimonies of their co-conspirators Robert Adams and John Monument were sufficiently damning that the authorities never had to produce George Edwards. (Fearful of retribution, he escaped to Guernsey and later emigrated to the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa.)

Masked executioner

The five men were executed on May Day 1820 outside Newgate Prison in front of a large crowd. On the scaffold Ings sang: "Oh, give me death or liberty!" Thistlewood was asked if he repented and replied: "No, not at all. I hope the world will think that I have at least been sincere in my endeavours."

Half an hour after their hanging, a masked executioner stepped forward to complete the punishment by hacking off their heads with a butcher's knife, an incident that caused much revulsion. It was one of the last times that the punishment of decapitation – the residue of hanging, drawing and quartering – was employed.

Despite its failure, the Cato Street conspiracy certainly unnerved at least one member of the government. Lord Castlereagh took to carrying two loaded pistols. Countess Lieven, the wife of the Russian ambassador, wrote after dining with him: "He showed them to me at the table. I was very nervous every time he made an effort to offer me anything. I sat sideways on my chair; I edged away… and got so near my right hand neighbour that he could put nothing in his mouth without elbowing me."

For all Castlereagh's anxiety, the Cato Street conspirators never really stood a chance of murdering the entire cabinet. A combination of shoddy planning and government infiltration saw to that. And now, with harvests improving and employment picking up, the landscape was growing less and less fertile for acts of domestic terrorism. There would be further risings in coming decades. But no one would try to assassinate the British cabinet until the Brighton bomb of 1984 – when the IRA came within a whisker of killing Margaret Thatcher. H

Stephen Bates is a former senior correspondent with *The Guardian* and the author of *1815: Regency Britain in the Year of Waterloo* (Head of Zeus 2015)

ALAMY

National
Trust

Dear future lords and ladies,
I leave this place for you.

When you leave a gift in your will to a place that's special to you, you're protecting it for the next generation.

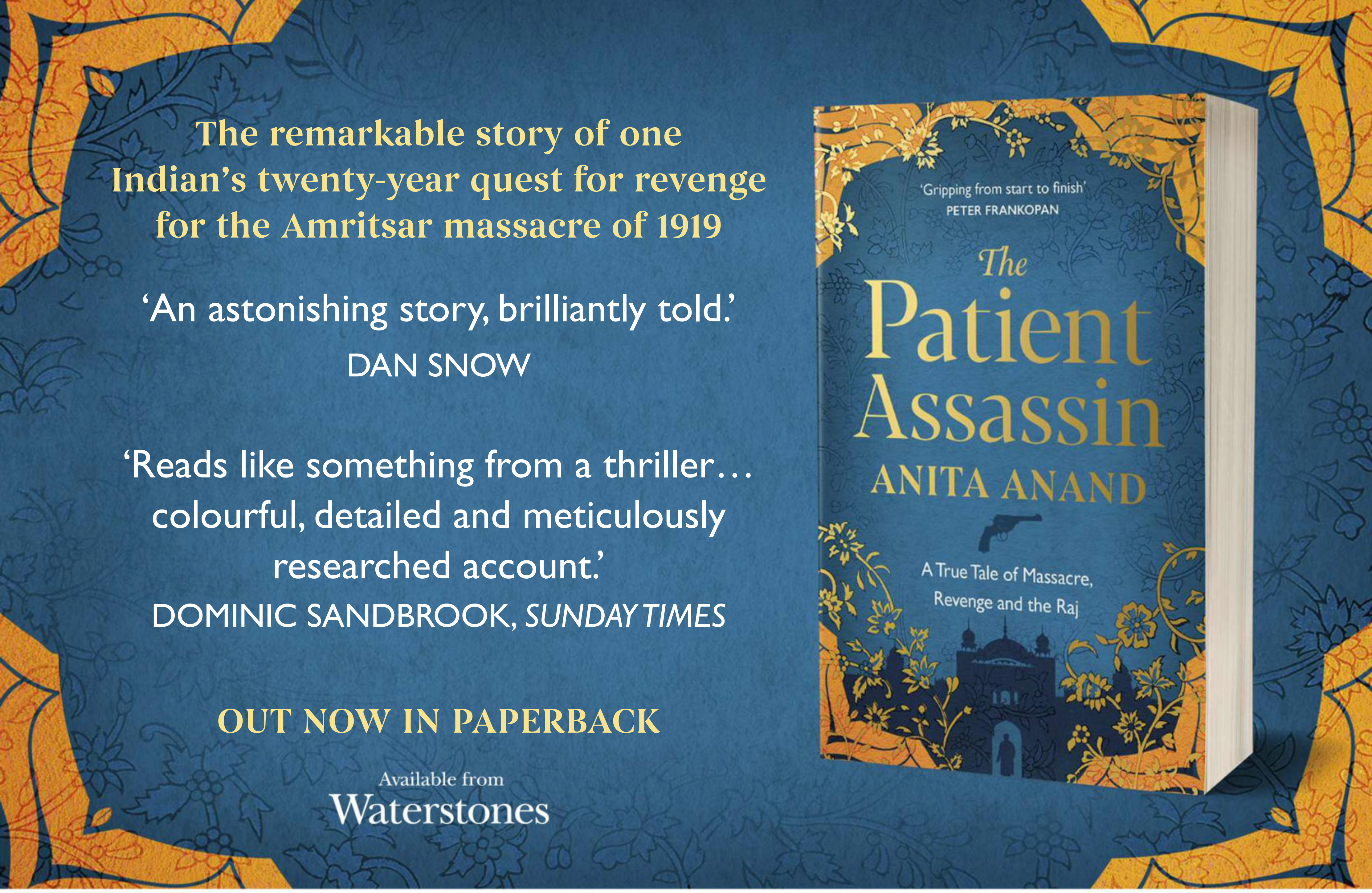
Where you choose to support is up to you, and you'll help make sure unique places live on for years to come. Your gift could help rebuild a historic castle, repair paths by a favourite beach or look after trees that have stood for centuries – and so much more.

To request your free gifts in wills guide visit: **nationaltrust.org.uk/gifts-in-wills**, call **01793 817699** or email **legacies@nationaltrust.org.uk.**

It's useful for us to know where you heard about leaving a gift in your will to the National Trust, so if you can, please quote **J20208.**

© National Trust 2020 Registered Charity No. 205846 © National Trust Images / Rob Stothard

Registered with
FR FUNDRAISING
REGULATOR



The remarkable story of one Indian’s twenty-year quest for revenge for the Amritsar massacre of 1919

‘An astonishing story, brilliantly told.’
DAN SNOW

‘Reads like something from a thriller… colourful, detailed and meticulously researched account.’
DOMINIC SANDBROOK, *SUNDAY TIMES*

OUT NOW IN PAPERBACK

Available from
Waterstones

‘Gripping from start to finish’
PETER FRANKOPAN
The Patient Assassin
ANITA ANAND
A True Tale of Massacre, Revenge and the Raj

Free Exhibition

Childhood in Dickensian London

20 January
- 20 June 2020

“In the little world in which children have their existence, whosoever brings them up, there is nothing so finely perceived and so finely felt as injustice.”
- Charles Dickens, Great Expectations

UNIVERSITY
OF LONDON
SENATE HOUSE
LIBRARY

SENATE HOUSE LIBRARY
4th Floor, Senate House
Bloomsbury, London WC1 7HU

#Dickens150 @SenateHouseLib
OPEN MONDAY - SATURDAY
www.senatehouselibrary.ac.uk

Red in tooth and claw A purse-lid from the Anglo-Saxon burials at Sutton Hoo. Despite incredible finds such as this, the period between the end of Roman authority in Britain and the purse-lid's burial in the seventh century remains obscure

How dark were the Dark Ages?

Many scholars reject the term 'Dark Ages' – but it could still be the best fit for an era shrouded in obscurity

BY **THOMAS WILLIAMS**

TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

All ages of the past are dark because the past is a grave. It is a void that historians and archaeologists seek to fill with knowledge – with things made by long-dead hands and the ghosts of buildings long demolished, the uncanny traces of people and their lost lives, poignant in their mundanity: a used bowl, a broken glass, a clay pipe, a worn shoe, the pieces of a game scattered and abandoned. The more we find to fill that void, the better illuminated the past appears. It takes on three-dimensional form in standing buildings and tangible artefacts, in detailed reconstructions of costume and paraphernalia. Film and TV provide illusory glimpses of the irrecoverable, while historical fiction and immersive histories promise time-travel to places we feel we might inhabit. And by and large, the closer a historical period sits relative to our own lives, the more vital and vibrant it feels.

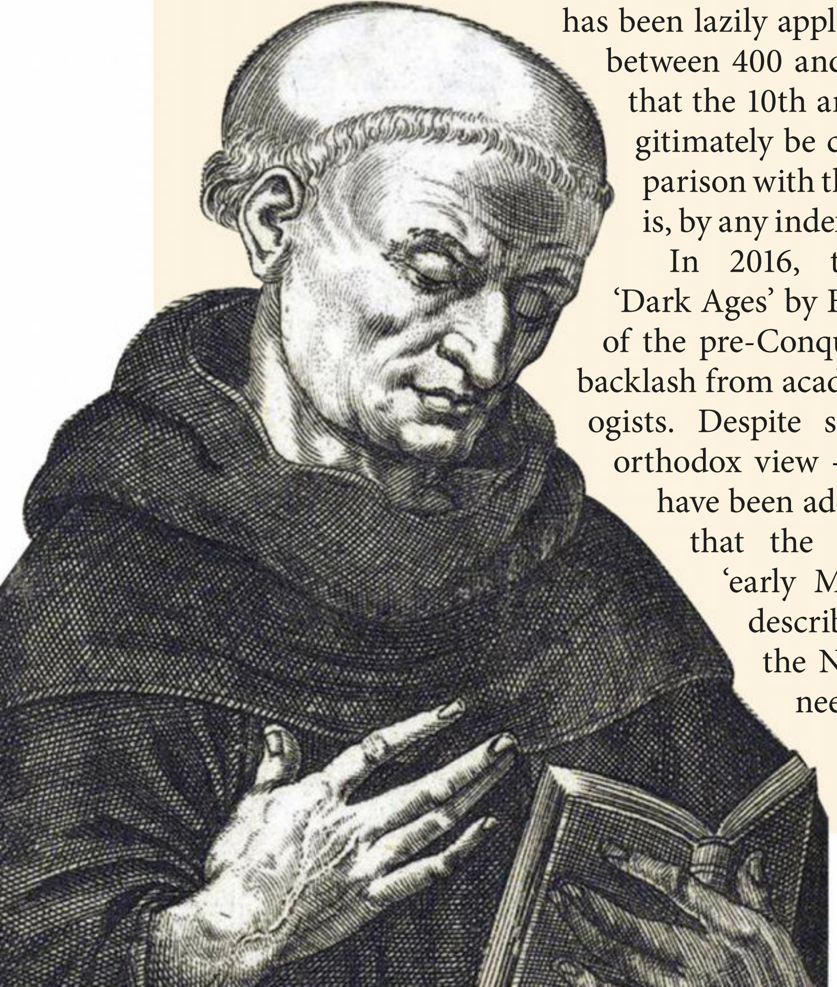
But what happens when there is so little to fill that void that the darkness becomes the defining characteristic? When knowledge is so hard-won, and so easily contested, that a state of 'not knowing' is the most respectable position for a historian to adopt?

To those who study late antiquity and the beginning of the early Middle Ages, the period between c400 and c600 AD in Britain is just such a void. These centuries are a time when not only historical narrative fails, but also our capacity to interpret the archaeological remains with much conviction. Fundamental questions about the end of Roman governance, the nature and scale of migration into Britain, the origins of kingdoms, the continuity of Christian belief and organisation, even the fate and whereabouts of the Romano-British population, remain essentially unanswerable. And yet, to describe this period as a 'dark age' has become deeply unfashionable in academic circles. This is, in part, due to the way that the term has been lazily applied to the whole of the period between 400 and 1066; and certainly the idea that the 10th and early 11th centuries can legitimately be conceived of as 'dark' in comparison with the later 11th and 12th centuries is, by any index, quite ridiculous.

In 2016, the adoption of the term 'Dark Ages' by English Heritage for the whole of the pre-Conquest period sparked a furious backlash from academic historians and archaeologists. Despite some notable dissenters, the orthodox view – and one that seems now to have been adopted by English Heritage – is that the terms 'early medieval' and 'early Middle Ages' are adequate to describe the 650 years or so prior to the Norman conquest. There is no need, the argument runs, to insult public intelligence by supposing that people are incapable of differentiating the 'early' from the 'late' medieval period. That, I suppose, is fair enough (though the supposed simplicity of this argument is undermined by the fact that medieval historians frequently distinguish the 'late Middle Ages' from the 'high' or 'central' Middle Ages). Most academics, however, will concede that the first 200 years of the 'early medieval period' are markedly dissimilar to those that followed; and no one wants to write, let alone read, about the 'early early medieval period'. In any case, there is little about those two centuries that anyone would really think of as 'medieval' at all.

If ever an age could be rightly described as 'dark' it would be the two centuries that followed the collapse of Roman authority in Britain at the beginning of the fifth century. The historical record for these years is practically non-existent. The best surviving source is an excoriating sermon – 'De Excidio Britanniae' (On the Ruin of Britain) – written by the British monk Gildas sometime between the late fifth century and c530. It is not a historical work, but a rhetorical barracking of Romano-British leaders, both prior to and in Gildas's own time, whom he blamed for the ruin of Britain in the twilight of Roman rule. Most of the few places Gildas mentioned cannot be identified. The majority of the people he lambasted cannot be named. The dates of the events he described – even the date at which he wrote – remain controversial. Nevertheless, it is the best we have, and it provides the traditional narrative of post-Roman Britain from which all others are ultimately derived. The only other (local) sources of any note include a couple of letters written by St Patrick in the fifth century, one describing how he was taken from his home by Irish slave raiders and the other castigating a bloke called Coroticus for raiding and looting a Christian settlement and dragging the men and women into slavery.

Gildas – supported to some degree by the gloomy vignettes that Patrick conjures up – presents a world that has spun rapidly out of control. As the Roman empire in the west fell into disorder, Britain was left weakened and exposed. Militarily diminished and politically mismanaged, weakened by famine and plague, the British elites – led by an unidentified "proud tyrant" – devised a strategy. They would invite Saxons from continental Europe to act as a shield against raids by Scots (from Ireland) and Picts (from Scotland). This plan swiftly backfired. The Saxons, using disputes over pay and rations as a pretext, turned against the Britons and began to wreak havoc. Britain was



'On the Ruin of Britain', written by the monk Gildas (below) presents a desperate picture of a land that had run rapidly out of control

ALAMY

left in ruins, a place where, Gildas tells us, "in the middle of the squares the foundation-stones of high walls and towers that had been torn from their lofty bases, holy altars, fragments of corpses – covered (as it were) with a purple crust of congealed blood – looked as though they had been mixed up in some dreadful wine-press". In this land of nightmares there "was no burial to be had except in the ruins of houses or the bellies of beasts and birds".

Gildas's account cannot be relied upon to provide a complete or very accurate picture of the end of Roman Britain. Nevertheless, archaeology confirms the reality of rapid urban collapse. At Cirencester, the number of rooms occupied in the town declined dramatically: from more than 140 in AD 375, to around 10 by 425. Grand homes and public buildings were abandoned. Rubble and junk accumulated in houses and courtyards – the rubbish of empire piling up or rotting away, to form layers of debris and dark earth, largely devoid of artefacts to betoken anything approaching urban life. Human corpses rotted in ditches beside roads already crumbling under the onslaught of weeds and weather. At Lincoln, dead dogs were dumped in the ruins and owls took up residence in the gate towers. In the countryside, once-magnificent villas were abandoned in whole or in part, and standards of living declined precipitously.

It has been argued, quite rightly, that for many ordinary people – those who had never had access to the luxuries of Roman civic life – things carried on through the fifth and sixth centuries much as they always had. But this does not change the fact that we know precious little about these people: indeed, across large parts of the country, evidence for the Romano-British population is so limited that their existence is often surmised on the basis of a *lack* of evidence: blank spaces on the archaeological map serving as a paradoxical indicator of the 'continuity' of indigenous British populations.

These 'blank spaces' are defined in relation to the abundance of evidence for new communities in the east of England, whose culture was pagan, rural and indebted to the traditions of the northern European Iron Age. The archaeology of these people and the testimony of later writers, such as the eighth-century monk Bede, identify their origins in migrations from the Low Countries, northern Germany and southern Scandinavia (or, in Bede's terms, the lands of the 'Angles', 'Saxons' and 'Jutes').

The story of the early 'Anglo-Saxons' in Britain is one of a long journey from obscurity into light. Their cemeteries and settlements initially reflected a world in which social stratification was only apparent at the local and familial level, with little apparent inequality between individual communities. But from the end of the sixth century things began to change. The seventh century was the age of Sutton Hoo and other graves like it, the burials of men and woman interred beneath barrows, surrounded by the treasures of the age. These burials – their contents an amalgam of Roman and barbarian, Christian and pagan, exotic and provincial – were monuments to a newfound sense of power and prestige, the working through of a social and religious landscape in flux. It all points towards a new image of power fit to rule in the world that was emerging. The birth, perhaps, of medieval kingship as we have come to recognise it.

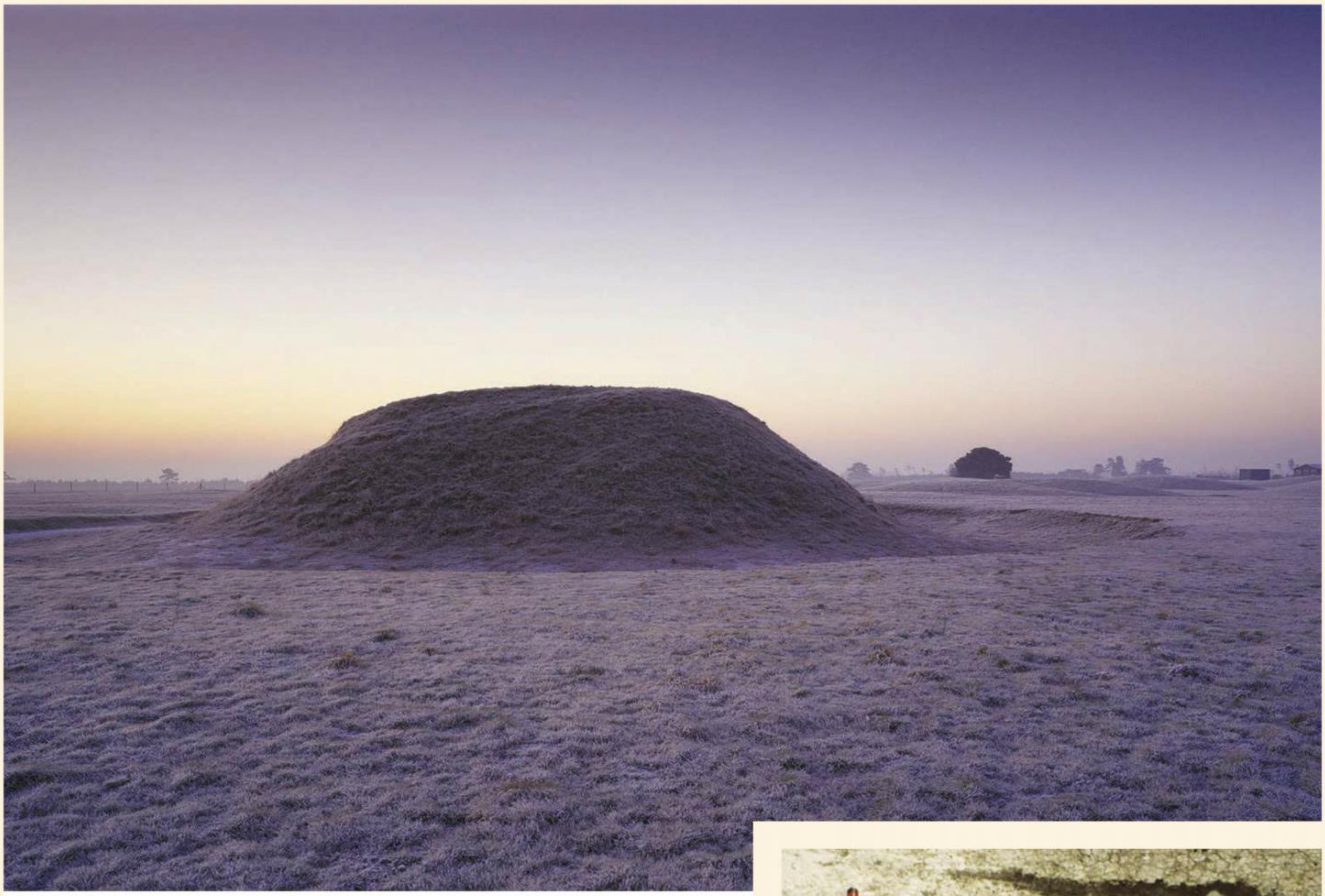
GETTY IMAGES

High and dry A shrine to water nymphs at Chedworth Roman villa near Cirencester. Archaeology suggests that, following the collapse of Roman authority, public buildings were left to decay, rubble accumulated in houses and towns lay in ruins

By the middle of the seventh century, Christianity had triumphed in lowland Britain. The last great pagan king, Penda of Mercia, was slain in battle in 655. From that point onward, 'Anglo-Saxon' kingship became effectively indivisible from Christianity, the temporal claims of rulers validated by a divine seal of approval and supported by the infrastructure of the church. Monasticism – protected with royal patronage – gave the technology of the written word to the rulers of Britain, granting them efficient new tools: law codes, legal documents, written lineages, chronicles. From the seventh century on, lowland Britain was becoming a more recognisably 'medieval' world.

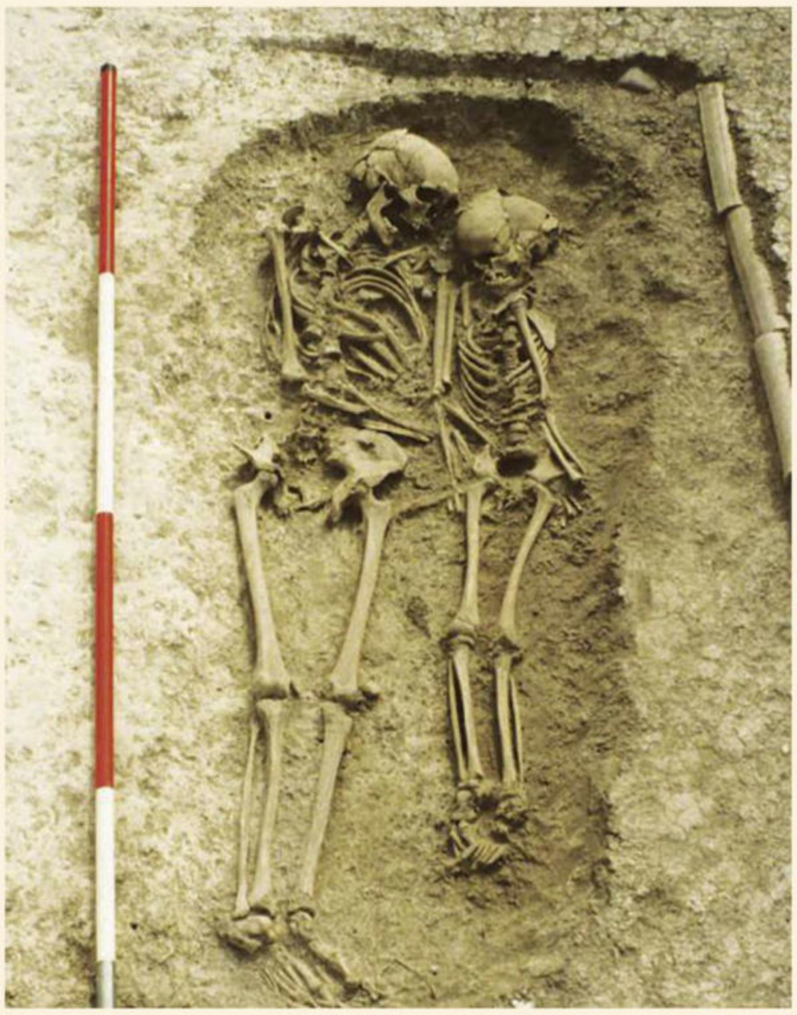
For the western and northern parts of Britain – those which had lain outside or only loosely within the Roman empire, and which had much longer traditions of Christianity – the obscurity persists for longer. But the little evidence we have suggests that these regions were also slowly drawn into a world that no longer looked so explicitly to the antique past for expressions of authority.

> **"Across large parts of the country, evidence for the Romano-British population is so limited that their existence is surmised on the basis of a *lack* of evidence**



A new age begins One of the burial mounds at Sutton Hoo. This sixth/seventh-century cemetery – which yielded an extraordinary array of treasures – symbolises "the birth, perhaps, of medieval kingship as we have come to recognise it", writes Thomas Williams

Arrested development
This first or second-century Romano-British child's shoe, found on the site of the Bank of England, has a thick hobnailed sole and decorative openwork. But the luxuries of Roman civic life were lost when Saxon migrants from the continent wreaked havoc



The great leveller The grave of plague victims from the mid-sixth century, in an Anglo-Saxon burial ground at Edix Hill near Cambridge

THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM/ALAMY/IMAGE COURTESY OF CAMBRIDGE COUNTY COUNCIL

By the seventh century, then, the age of 'not knowing' was drawing to an end. But what about the preceding 200 years? How are they best described? If referring to the fifth and sixth centuries as the 'early early medieval period' feels wrong, what other words can we reach for?

The objections to the term 'Dark Ages' coalesce around two main themes. The first is that 'dark' is a pejorative term that overlooks the accomplishments of the era, and casts unwonted shade on aspects of its social, cultural or economic history. The other is that to level accusations of obscurity at this period is to unfairly single it out and exoticise its supposed mystery. I have no great sympathy for either of these arguments. If we accept that 'dark' in this context equates to 'bad', it is clear that the most heavily Romanised parts of Britain underwent a socioeconomic collapse of unusual suddenness and severity at the beginning of these centuries. That this was accompanied by civil war and a long period of chronic instability is almost certain. For the people who lived through this and were affected by it, these must have been grim days indeed. The fact that other periods may have been more unpleasant, and therefore more deserving of the adjective 'dark', is neither here nor there. Nobody wants to play 'bad times' poker ("I'll see your Dark Ages and raise you a Black Death").

More troubling are the unthinking assumptions that underlie this criticism. The idea of a 'dark age' was first used by Petrarch in the 14th century to describe the whole of the Middle Ages, as a period of backwardness between the twin lights of the Roman empire and his own time. But regardless of the historical intent behind the original coinage, we should be able to recognise that 'darkness' doesn't automatically equate to 'badness': obscurity is a far more accurate definition. And one of the least controversial things that can be said about the years between c400 and c600 is that they are indeed obscured by a marked lack of evidence. Yes, people in that time did and wrought wondrous things. But few of them are known to us – far fewer than in most other historical periods. The Dark Ages may not be darker in this sense than the long ages of prehistory, but they are very dark indeed in comparison with the periods that precede and follow them.

In any case, the existing alternative terms are all pretty dismal. Controversy over the use of the label 'Anglo-Saxon' has recently flared up on both sides of the Atlantic, and whatever the merits of the argument for discontinuing its use, recourse to the 'early Anglo-Saxon' period (or 'late' or 'middle') is deeply undesirable. Not only is the term 'Anglo-Saxon' of suspect utility and freighted with unfortunate racist baggage, it is also clearly wrongheaded to define a chronological period by using the label of one ethnic group on an island that was populated by several.

'Migration period' is just as bad. Any label that purports to define what a period was 'about' – in this case population movements – can only ever be partial and prejudicial. Certainly there was migration in the centuries between c400 and c600, and perhaps an unusually large amount (though that is debatable). But a lot of other social and economic changes were going on at the same time, many of them arguably more important to the future shape of Britain and Europe than migration. The 'late antique' period (c300–c650) is not much better. This label attempts to carve out a time span that straddles the collapse of the Roman empire in the west by reference to the changed but enduring classical civilisation of the Mediterranean. While it rightly emphasises the fact that Rome didn't fall in a day (and the eastern empire didn't fall until 1453), it is built on arguments that have only limited relevance to most of Britain and none at all to some of it.

> **"These must have been grim days indeed. The fact that other periods may have been worse is neither here nor there. No one wants to play 'bad times' poker**

And so, unless we really want to torture ourselves with lengthy circumlocutions or default to the dry and unwieldy recital of dates, we find ourselves back in the Dark Ages. Not because it is a perfect term, but because it suffers from fewer faults than the alternatives and is, when taken as a description of the available evidence, pretty accurate. It also has the considerable benefit of being vague enough to encompass an elastic date range that can respond to the vagaries of regional circumstance and doesn't commit itself to favouring one ethnic identity over any other. Finally, it has one other important quality in its favour: the power to inspire the imagination.

As a historian, I've always been drawn to the darker spaces of history – like an explorer drawn to the blank spaces on the map. It's one of the reasons why the pre-Conquest period drew me in as an undergraduate, and has held me ever since. Some historians seem frightened of the dark, as though the 'not knowing' admits to a flaw in the discipline or a deficiency in training. But for me, the many mysteries of obscured periods have an allure unmatched by the most voluminous archive. The struggle to understand scattered and difficult sources, the possibility of genuine discovery in a world where nothing can be taken for granted, represent an endless quest where everything is on the table to be interpreted afresh, and the deepest secrets still lie locked within the earth.

The idea of the Dark Ages spoke to me and still does, and it seems unfair to deny its allure to others – to those who might be drawn in by the shadowed corners of history, willing to take a journey in the dark to see what treasures might be found. For those who seek it, the glimmer of gold in the torchlight can be worth a thousand sun-drenched spires.

Thomas Williams is an archaeologist and historian. His books include *Viking Britain* (William Collins, 2017) and *Viking London* (William Collins, 2019)

HAVE YOUR SAY

Should we still use the term 'Dark Ages'? Email us at *historymagazine@historyextra.com*, tweet us *@historyextra* or post at *facebook.com/historyextra*

Q&A

A selection of historical **conundrums** answered by experts

Did any Vikings raid the British Isles before the attack on Lindisfarne?

Fredrik Åsenius, Sweden

››› As a violent attack on a holy place which deeply shocked contemporaries, the Viking raid on the island monastery of Lindisfarne in 793 had a powerful symbolic significance – one that has carried down the ages. That's partly why it's now often seen as the beginning of the Viking Age. However, it probably wasn't the first such incident.

There are earlier references to the danger posed by 'heathen' shipborne pirates, suggesting they had been a problem for some time around the Kent coast. Throughout this period, people from Scandinavia also visited Britain and Ireland as merchants and traders, though whether we should call those people 'Vikings' is a difficult question.

The last decade of the eighth century saw a rash of attacks by ships from Norway, and Lindisfarne wasn't the only island plundered. Around the same time, raids are recorded in the Hebrides and at Rathlin in Ireland. A few years earlier there was an incident in Dorset in which three ships of Vikings landed at Portland and killed the local reeve (a senior official). Some decades later, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle described this as the first time Scandinavian ships came to England, identifying it as the start of the Viking Age.

Whether or not these attacks were a completely new phenomenon, by the late eighth century they were becoming more frequent and dangerous. It was the beginning of a new phase in the relationship between Scandinavia and the rest of Europe, one that was to reshape the political landscape in Britain, Ireland and beyond.

Eleanor Parker, lecturer in medieval English literature at the University of Oxford

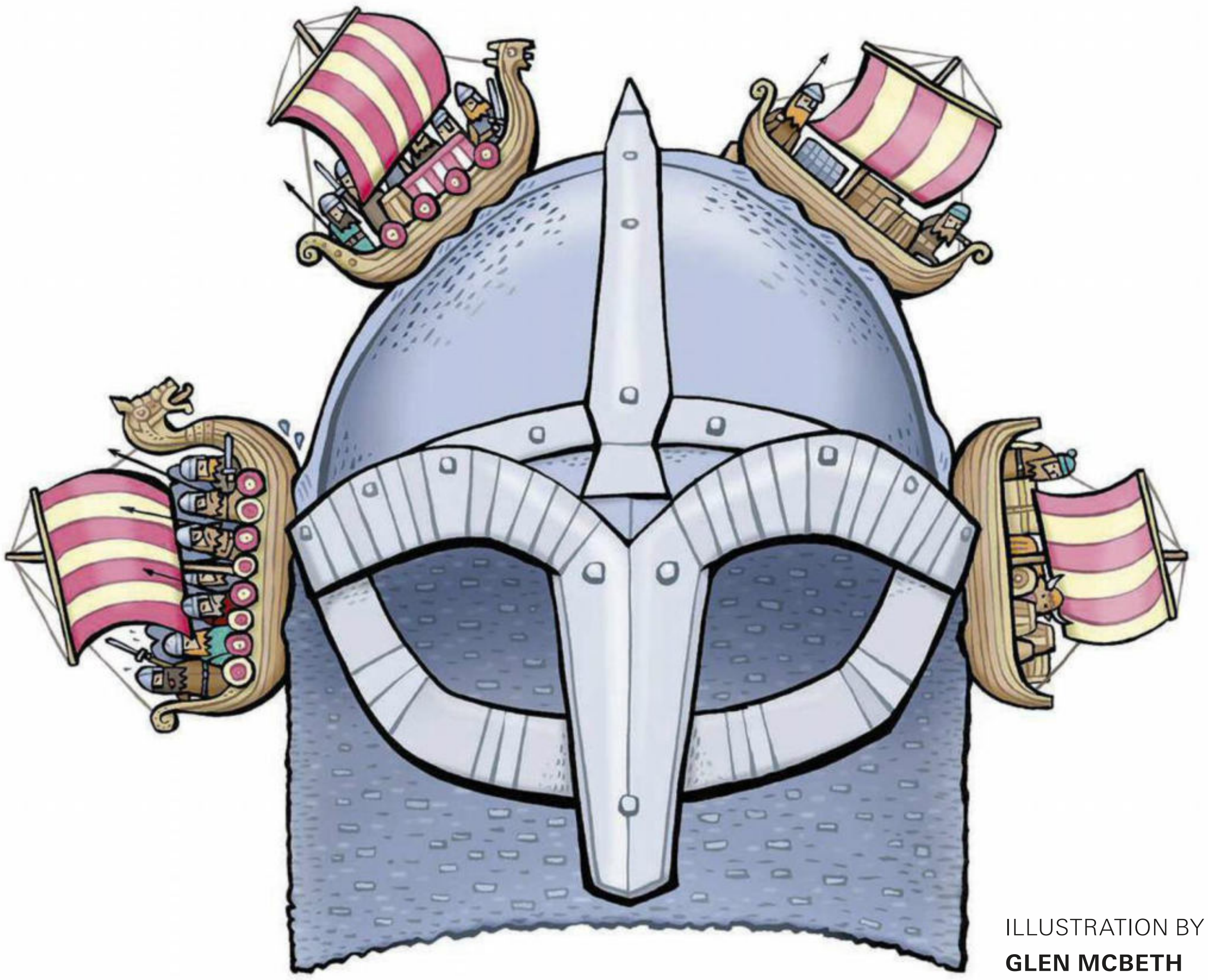
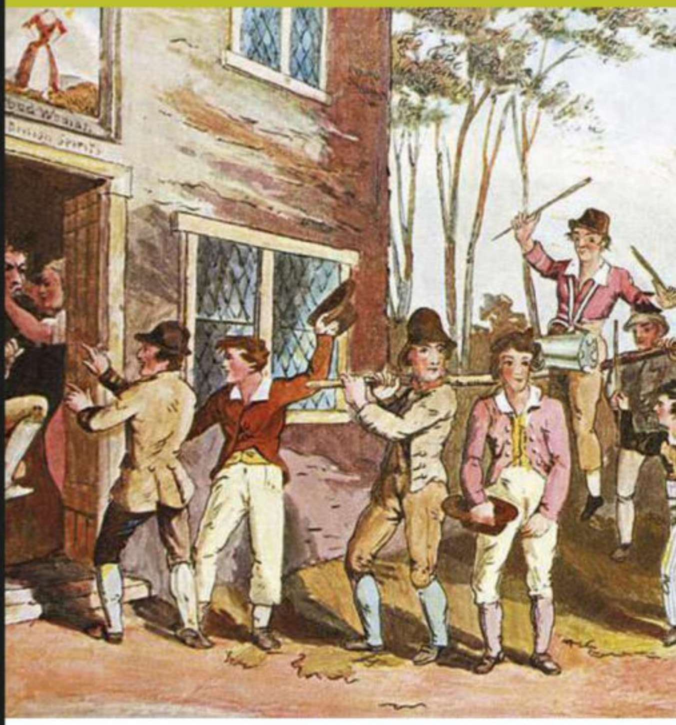


ILLUSTRATION BY **GLEN MCBETH**



Yorkshire villagers armed with sticks and makeshift instruments drag a reluctant neighbour from his home for 'rough music'

GETTY IMAGES

What was 'rough music'?

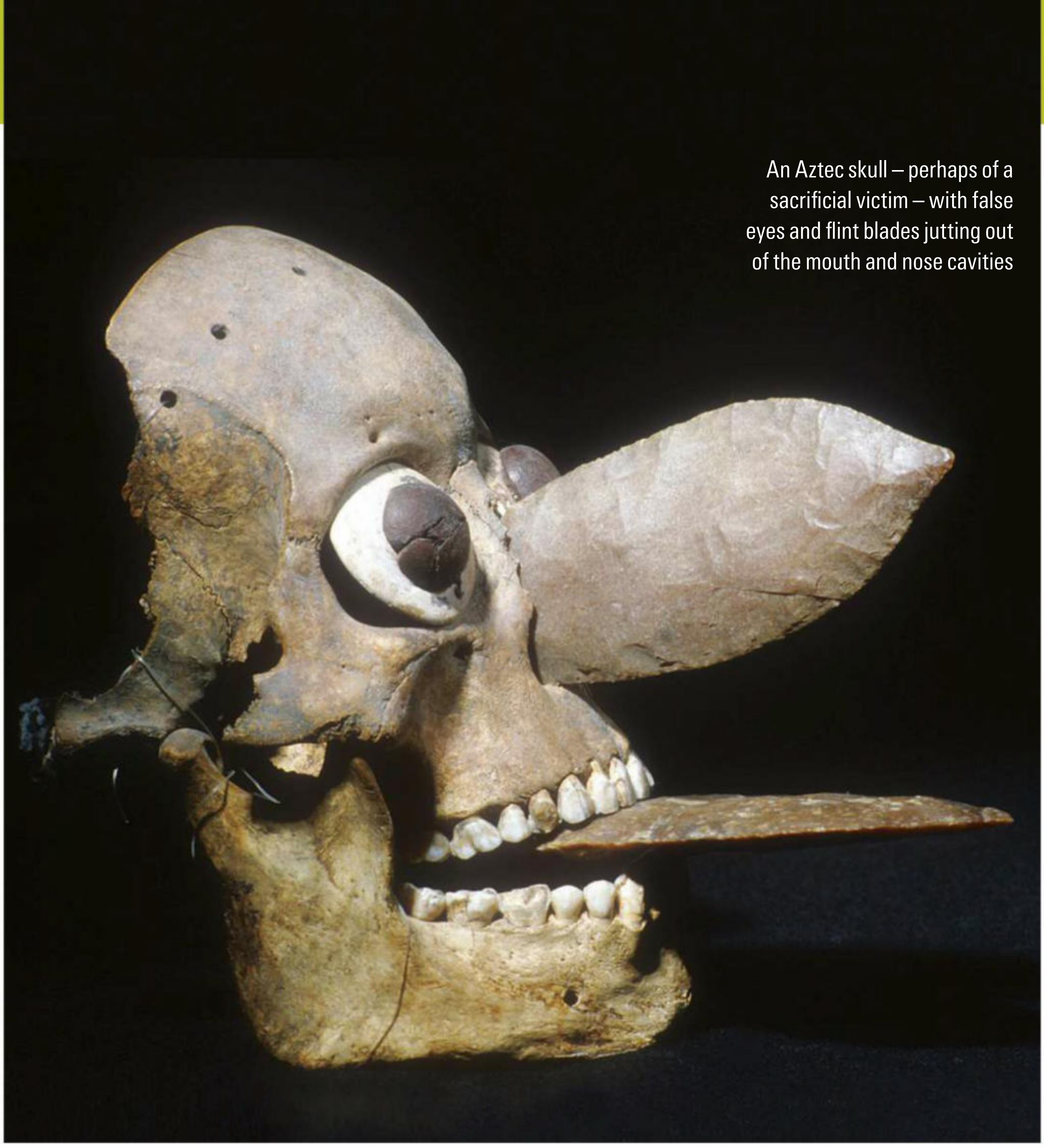
››› Rough music was an important, although not universal, element in the community satirical ritual known as 'charivari', or 'skimmington'. During charivari, people who were felt to have flouted community norms would be dragged from their home and mockingly paraded through the streets by their neighbours.

'Rough music' is sometimes used as another name for this ritual, but most properly signifies the making of cacophonous and discordant noise to accompany the parade. 'Proper' instruments, such as fiddles, might be employed, but typically rough music involved beating pots, pans and basins, blowing horns or ringing cowbells.

The targets of this derisory ritual varied, and changed over time. During the 17th century, it was frequently directed at husbands considered incapable of controlling their spouses, but by the 19th century, it was used to shame men who beat their wives.

In the early 16th century, both ecclesiastical and secular courts frequently paraded convicted offenders with basins or dishes being beaten before them. Whether such practices inspired – or were themselves inspired by – community rough music is still a matter of debate.

James Sharpe, professor emeritus of early modern history at the University of York



An Aztec skull – perhaps of a sacrificial victim – with false eyes and flint blades jutting out of the mouth and nose cavities

Why did the Aztecs practise human sacrifice?

››› Archaeological evidence reveals that the Aztecs were just one of several ancient peoples around the world to practise human sacrifice. The Celts certainly did, for instance, and mourning Hindu wives sometimes cast themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres in a practice known as *sati*. Ancient Native Americans would offer a prisoner of war as the ultimate gift to the gods – for what could be more precious than human life? – knowing that it would be their turn whenever they themselves lost a war.

Human sacrifice was understood this way among the Aztecs, whose ancestors had migrated from today's New Mexico and Arizona. They too sacrificed prisoners of war. When it was time for a prisoner to die, the people gathered gravely, bearing flowers in their arms. They long remembered the tears of the victim, and the warrior who had taken the prisoner kept his remains in a sacred basket until he himself died.

Such a death was not considered shameful, but glorious; people honoured their enemies who died that way and bragged of their family members who had suffered a similar fate. It was proof of courage, and an offering to the divine that helped all of humanity.

However, as the Aztecs achieved more victories and came to control much of Mexico, they began to abuse their power. They started to sacrifice dozens of enemies at a time in order to make a political point: "If you give us trouble, it will go hard with you. You had better do as we say." After the Spanish conquest, the Aztecs' grandchildren spoke with regret about what had happened, as the practice had moved far beyond honouring the gods.

Camilla Townsend, author of *Fifth Sun: A New History of the Aztecs* (OUP, 2019)

AKG IMAGES /DREAMSTIME

MORE FROM US

Read more about the Aztecs in issue 21 of **BBC World Histories** magazine

DID YOU KNOW...?

Fatal news

In 1540 Arthur Plantagenet and several members of his household were arrested on **suspicion of plotting to betray the town of Calais to the French**. Languishing in the Tower of London, he must have believed that his days were numbered, so when in 1542 he learned that Henry VIII had ordered his release he was understandably relieved and excited. So excited, in fact, that he died, possibly of a heart attack.

Web design

Queen Elizabeth I's clothes were frequently adorned with symbolic imagery. Portraits depict her wearing dresses embellished with pearls and flowers, even eyes, ears and snakes. But in August 1596 she surpassed herself when she appeared at court wearing **a lace shawl decorated with what one observer described as "a hideous large black spider** that looked as if it were natural and alive".

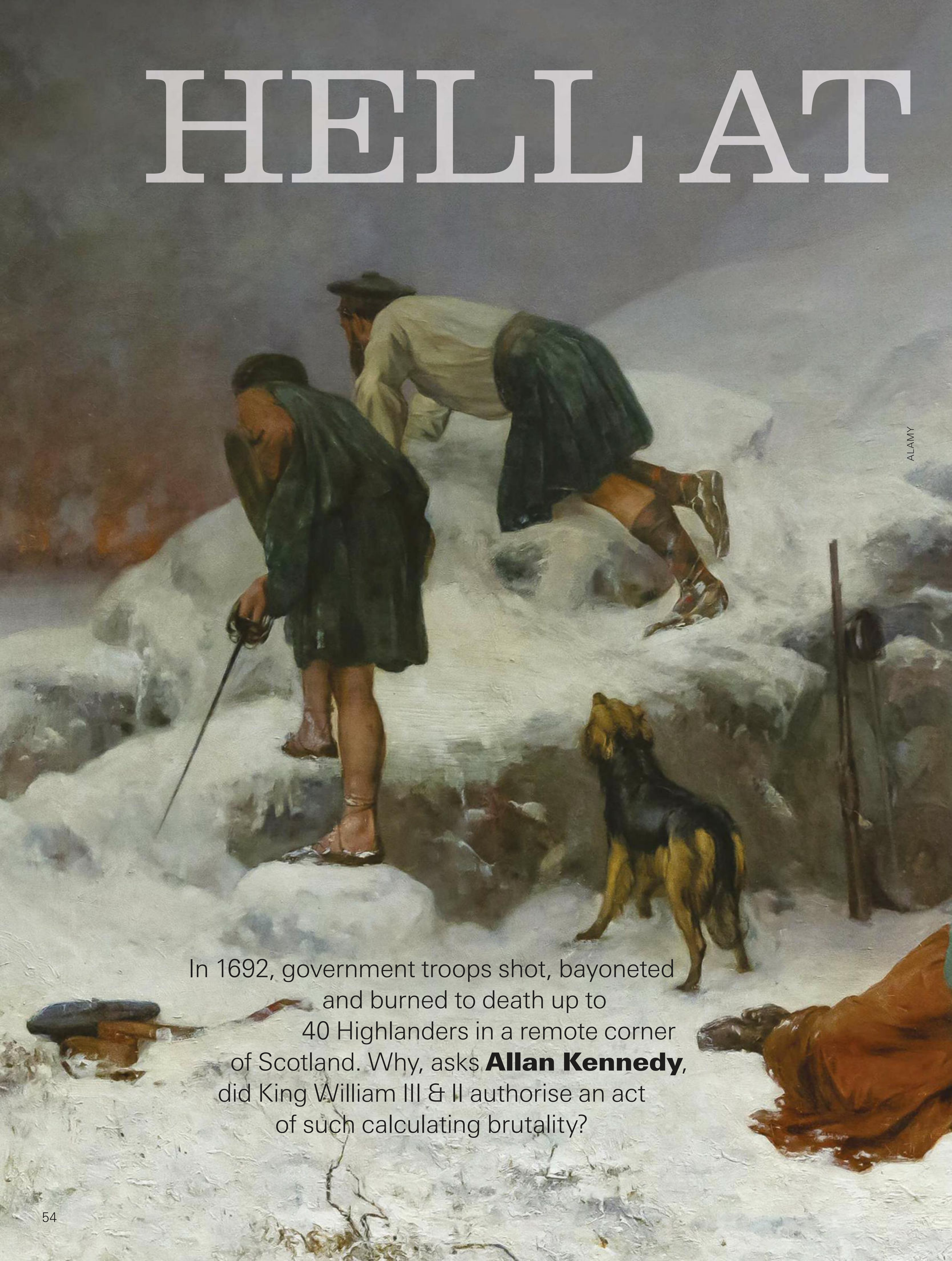
Day of destiny

The third of September turned out to be a key date in the life of Oliver Cromwell. On 3 September 1650 his outnumbered army defeated the Scots at **the battle of Dunbar**. Exactly a year later he defeated Charles II at Worcester in what was the last battle of the Civil War. Finally, on 3 September 1658, he died.

Laughing at the legate

When Henry III was besieging Kenilworth Castle in 1266, Cardinal Ottobuono, the papal legate, excommunicated all those inside its walls. If the king thought this would break the rebels' resistance, he soon had to think again. In reply, they dressed their surgeon in white and paraded him on the castle ramparts where he 'excommunicated' the king, the legate and the royal army.

Julian Humphrys, author and journalist, specialising in history

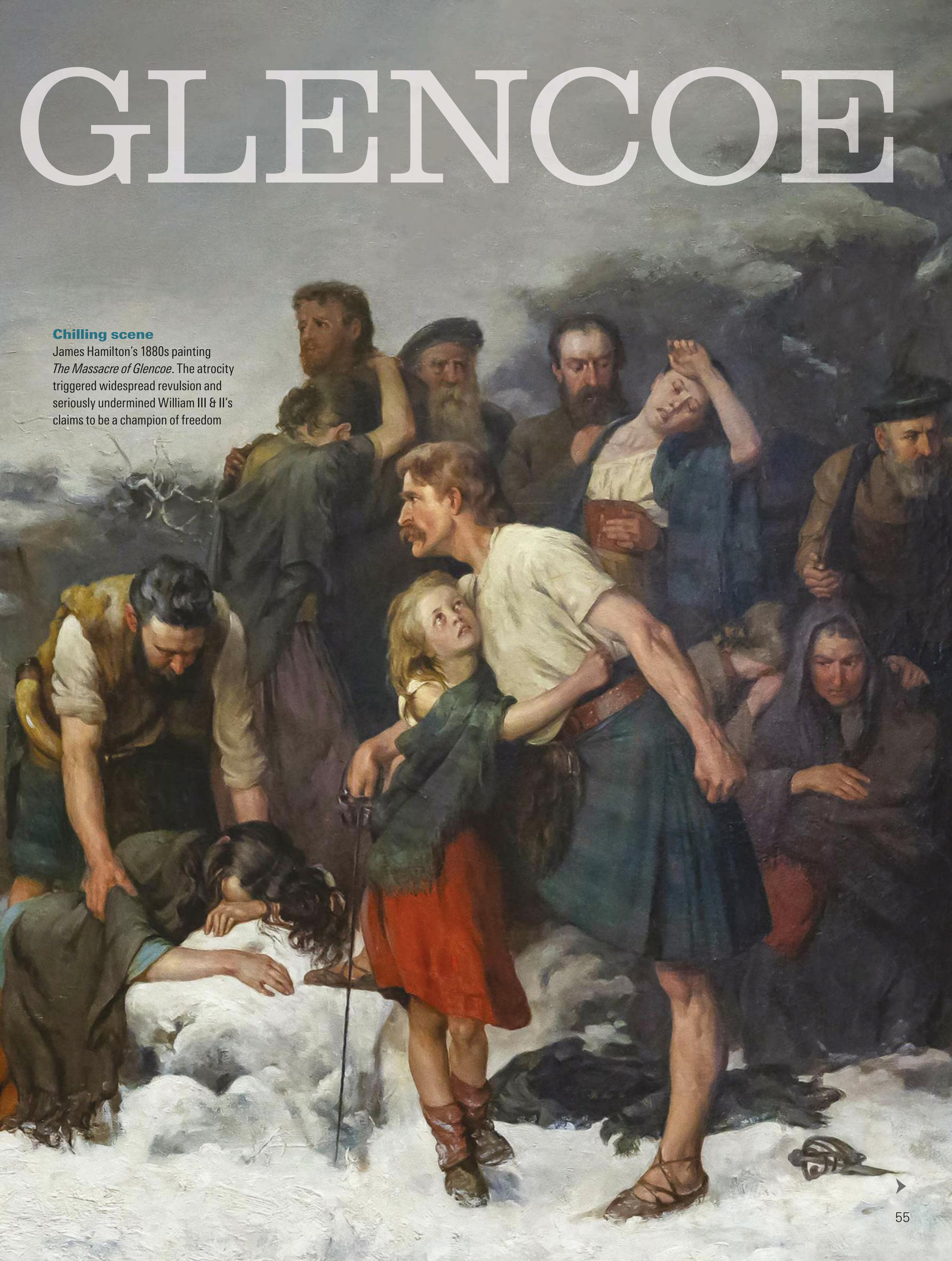


HELL AT

ALAMY

In 1692, government troops shot, bayoneted and burned to death up to 40 Highlanders in a remote corner of Scotland. Why, asks **Allan Kennedy**, did King William III & II authorise an act of such calculating brutality?

GLENCOE

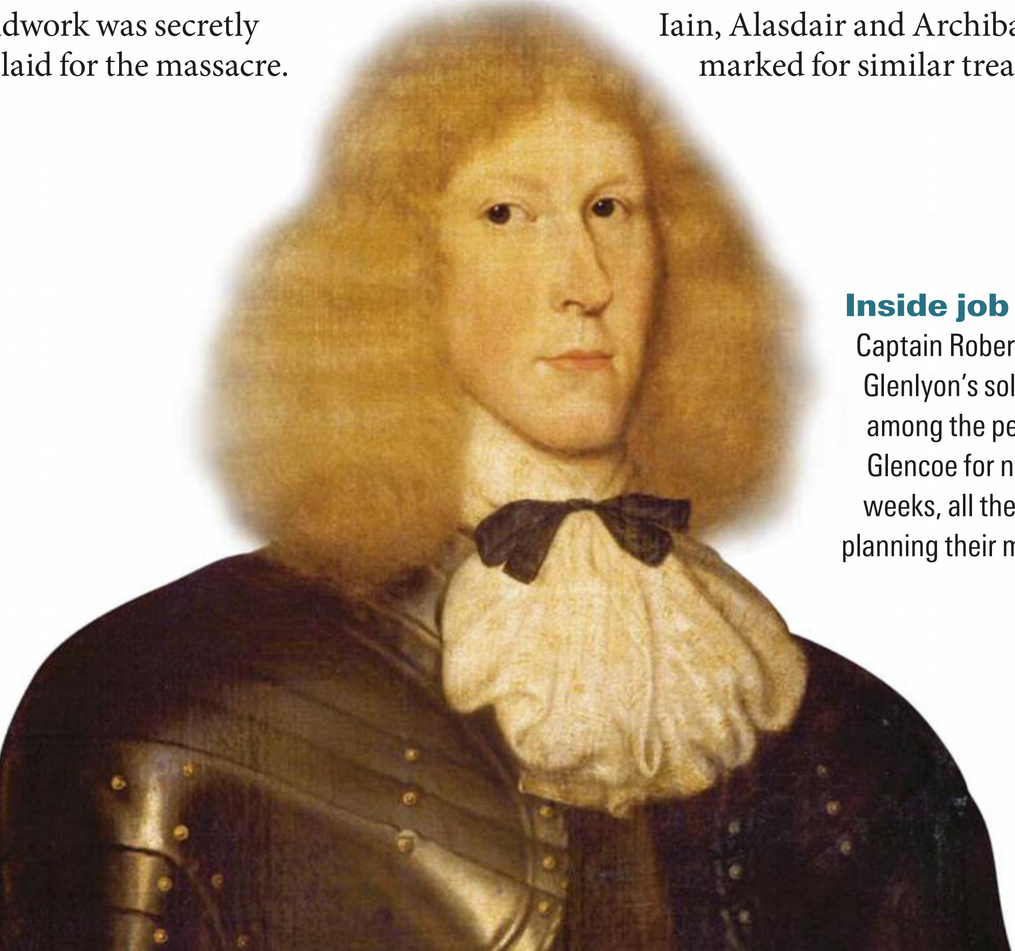


Chilling scene
James Hamilton's 1880s painting *The Massacre of Glencoe*. The atrocity triggered widespread revulsion and seriously undermined William III & II's claims to be a champion of freedom

It was early when the soldiers roused themselves, the dawn still a distant promise. As they mustered in the darkness, they likely could not see much of the rugged valley surrounding them, the narrow river running through its centre, or the forbidding mountain peaks pressing in from all sides. Nor, probably, did they care, for the grim task before them was surely enough to occupy their minds. In the name of William III & II and Mary II, joint king and queen of Scotland, these 120-or-so men (most of whom probably hailed from the Scottish lowlands) were charged with bringing order to a remote corner of the realm. They were to do so at bayonet-point, by visiting exemplary punishment on a group of people that, in the judgment of William and Mary's ministers, had proved insufficiently enthusiastic in their submission to government authority.

As they stood in the winter chill, preparing to begin their bloody work, the troops cannot have known that what they were about to do would forever be remembered as one of the most horrific acts of political violence in British history. For this was Glencoe, home to a small sept of Clan MacDonald, and on the morning of 13 February 1692, it became the site of a massacre.

The soldiers, led by Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, had been quartered in Glencoe for nearly a fortnight. The troops had ostensibly been extracting 'free quarter', meaning that the local populace (made up of perhaps 200 families) was being forced to provide them with food and board – a common mechanism in early modern Scotland for punishing people, such as the MacDonalds, who had failed to pay their taxes. All the while, however, the groundwork was secretly being laid for the massacre.



Inside job
Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon's soldiers lived among the people of Glencoe for nearly two weeks, all the while planning their murders

NATIONAL GALLERIES SCOTLAND

It would forever be remembered as one of the most horrific acts of political violence in British history

Glenlyon received his final orders on 12 February: "Yow are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebells, the McDonalds of Glenco, and putt all to the sword under 70. You are to have a speciall care that the old Fox and his sones doe upon no account escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues that no man escape. This you are to putt in executione att fyve of the clock precisely."

Kill without hesitation

So it was that, at the appointed hour, Glenlyon mustered his men around the settlement of Inverrigan, a short distance into the five-mile-long glen. While he remained there, parties of around 20 men were dispatched to fall upon the glen's various other settlements, each with orders to enter the main homes and kill without hesitation.

The primary target was Alasdair MacDonald, also known as MacIain, the aged clan chief and the 'old fox' referred to in Glenlyon's orders. He lived at Polveig, near the mouth of the glen. As the soldiers burst into his home, he rose to greet them and began to get dressed, but fell dead when a volley of gunfire thundered into his back. MacIain's sons, Iain, Alasdair and Archibald, were marked for similar treatment, but all managed to escape into the hills, thanks to warnings from their servants.

Meanwhile, another party of troops descended on the settlement of Achnacone, further into the glen, where they broke into the largest house to find eight men huddled around a fire. Guns were immediately discharged; five of the men died, but the others managed to flee. Similar scenes were played out all through Glencoe, although the chosen weapon was not always gunfire; one attack at Leacantuim saw 80-year-old Archibald MacDonald bludgeoned into unconsciousness, before later being burned alive inside a house where he had taken refuge.

Back at Inverrigan, Glenlyon was not idle. Nine men, bound hand and foot, likely to prevent them raising the alarm, were shot one by one, before the soldiers turned their attention to the rest of the village. The attack seems to have been chaotic, and many MacDonalds escaped, although others, including an old woman and a boy no older than five, did not. There was little room for mercy; when Glenlyon himself attempted to save the lives of two young men, one of his fellow officers, citing their orders, overruled him and shot them both.

From about 7am, Glenlyon began receiving reinforcements from nearby Fort William. By late morning there were well over 600 soldiers in Glencoe, but there was little left for them to do. The MacDonald townships were all smoking ruins, and most of those who had not been killed had long-since escaped. Instead, the soldiers rounded up the MacDonalds' cattle and drove them back to Fort William in an act of confiscation-cum-plunder. As they withdrew back to their quarters, the troops left somewhere between 30 and 40 MacDonalds dead.

The massacre was a consequence of a short-term crisis in the governance of the Scottish Highlands, combined with much longer-term trends. Lowland Scots had been developing hostile ideas about Highlanders since at least the 14th century, and by the 1690s this discourse – which tended to shape English and other non-Scottish views as well – was firmly rooted in the idea that Highlanders were violent, barbaric, uncivilised and fundamentally disorderly. In the estimation of one particularly hostile contemporary observer, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, they were "more contemptible than the vilest slaves". And the worst of the lot were widely held to be those who, like the Glencoe MacDonalds, lived in Lochaber, the wild and mountainous region at the south-western end of the Great Glen.

For most of the 17th century, but particularly during the reigns of Charles II (1660–85) and James II & VII (1685–89), such antipathy laid particular stress on the idea of lawlessness, thereby casting Highlanders as incorrigibly criminal, with cattle-rustling being the offence of which they were most commonly accused. Under both Charles and James, various mechanisms for suppressing Highlanders' supposed lawlessness had been tried, but with the increasingly prominent connecting thread of using military force (or the threat thereof) to beat Highlanders into line. So, when William and Mary became king and queen of Scots in 1689 (after ousting James VII in the so-called Glorious Revolution), they inherited a realm that had become accustomed to treating its Highland inhabitants – probably not much less than half of the entire population of Scotland – as a threatening 'other' that needed to be kept robustly in line.

Latent suspicions

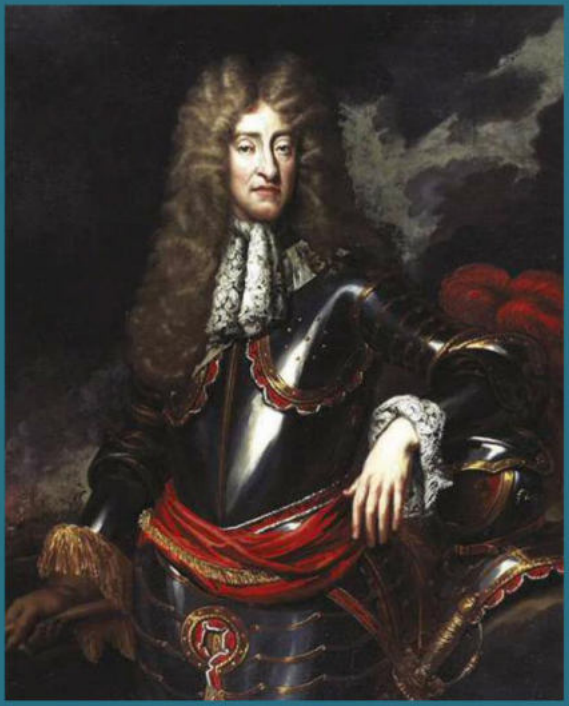
In the short term, the story that terminated in Glencoe began three years earlier at Dundee. It was there on 13 April 1689 that John Graham, Viscount Dundee raised the standard of James VII, proclaiming the start of the first Jacobite rising. Dundee was aiming to restore James as king of Scots, two days after the Scottish parliament had formally declared him deposed in favour of William and Mary.

Despite scoring a military victory over Williamite forces at the battle of Killiecrankie in July, during which Dundee himself was killed, the rising never posed a particularly serious threat to the new monarchs, and by late 1690 it had more or less petered out. Crucially, however, the rising had been sustained almost entirely by Highland manpower, thus confirming latent suspicions that Highlanders were naturally disloyal and disorderly. The events that would unfold were fundamentally shaped by that conviction.

At first, though, William's government seemed to proceed with caution. In June 1691, it entered negotiations with the remaining Jacobites, with the talks being conducted at Achallader in Perthshire under the leadership of John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane. Armed with a slush fund of £12,000 to help lubricate the negotiations, Breadalbane persuaded the Jacobite chiefs to agree to a three-month cessation of arms.

This agreement outraged much of the Williamite establishment because of its generosity to the Jacobites – after all, it provided for nothing more than a truce, and did not even require the chiefs to renounce their support for James VII. Nevertheless, when the terms of the Achallader agreement were presented to him, King William swiftly ratified them. Already,

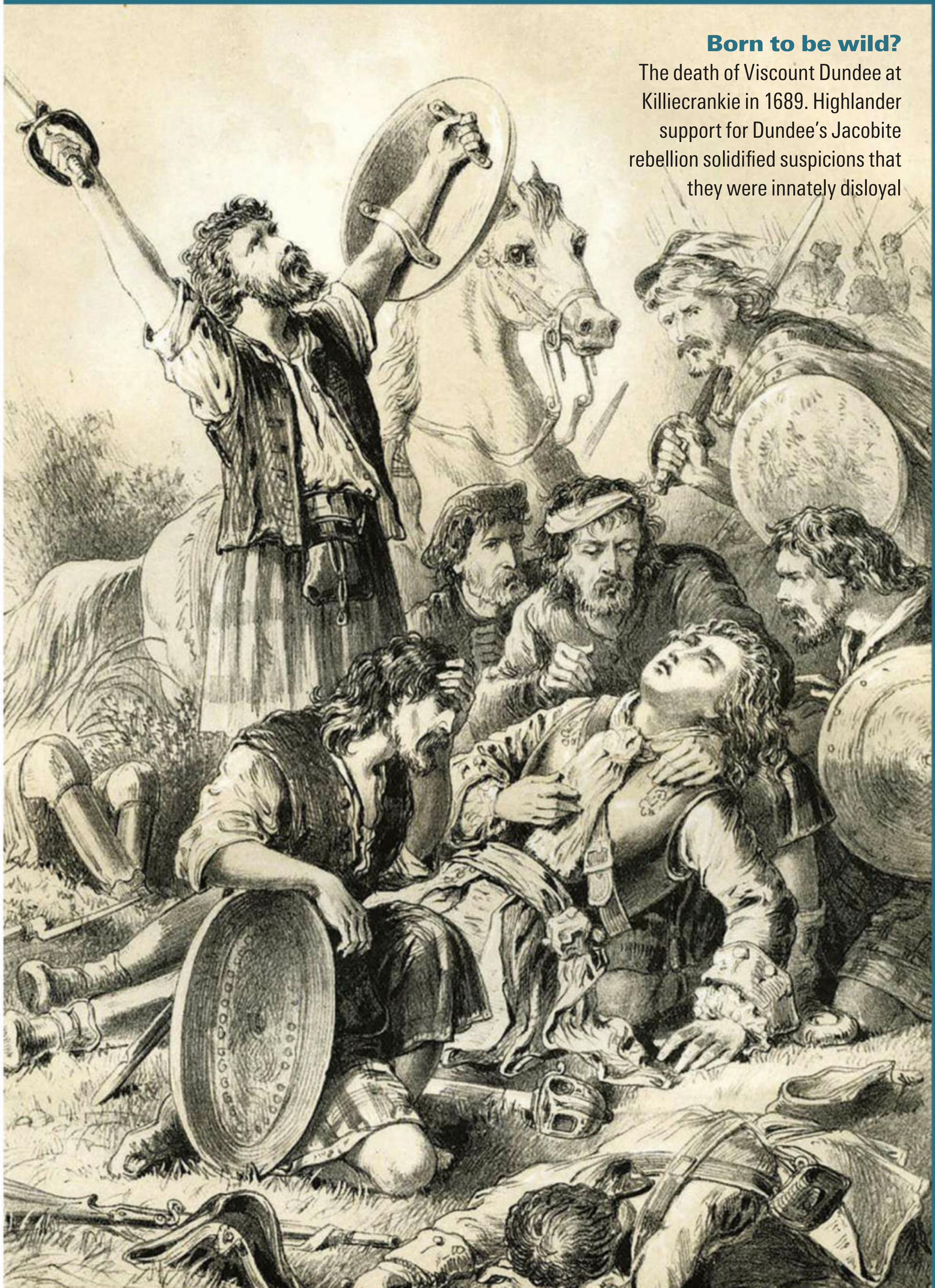
GETTY IMAGES/BRIDGEMAN



Unseated monarch
A c1690 portrait of James II & VII. Even though his reign had witnessed a spike in military action against Highlanders, there was support among the clans for his restoration as king of Scotland

Show of strength
A medal marking the English coronation of William and Mary in 1689. By 1691, William was demanding that the Jacobite chiefs sign an oath of allegiance to him

MAIUS · PAR · NOBILE · SCEPTRIS
GHENR ET MAR PR AUR
M·BRIT·R·
1689



Born to be wild?
The death of Viscount Dundee at Killiecrankie in 1689. Highlander support for Dundee's Jacobite rebellion solidified suspicions that they were innately disloyal

however, there were signs that this apparent moderation concealed a more ruthless impulse. This was most evident in the establishment in 1690 of a new military installation at Fort William, specifically intended to provide the government with coercive muscle on the ground.

Shortly after the Achallader talks came to an end, William raised the stakes still further by issuing a proclamation, dated 17 August 1691, in which he demanded that all the Jacobite chiefs sign an Oath of Allegiance to him no later than 1 January 1692. If they acquiesced, they would receive a pardon and be accepted into the king's peace; if they refused, they could expect consequences.

Over the next few months, all the Jacobite clans capitulated and signed the oath, a process greatly assisted by James VII's decision in December to release them from their earlier oaths to him. But in the case of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, there was a hitch. MacIain arrived at Fort William on 31 December 1691 ready to give his family's allegiance. But there was nobody at the fort empowered to receive it. The nearest competent official was at Inveraray, 40 miles distant. By the time MacIain got there, it was 6 January – five days after the deadline.

The Glencoe MacDonalds were not the only ones to miss the deadline, but because of the clan's small size and long-standing reputation for being troublesome, hardline elements within William's government decided they could safely be used to deliver a broader lesson to unruly Highlanders. Crucial in this was John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, recently appointed secretary of state by William, and a man determined to advertise his loyalty to the new regime. On 7 January 1692, Stair issued an edict that all those who had failed to take the oath were to be destroyed, and on 11 January he added more specific orders singling out the Glencoe MacDonalds.

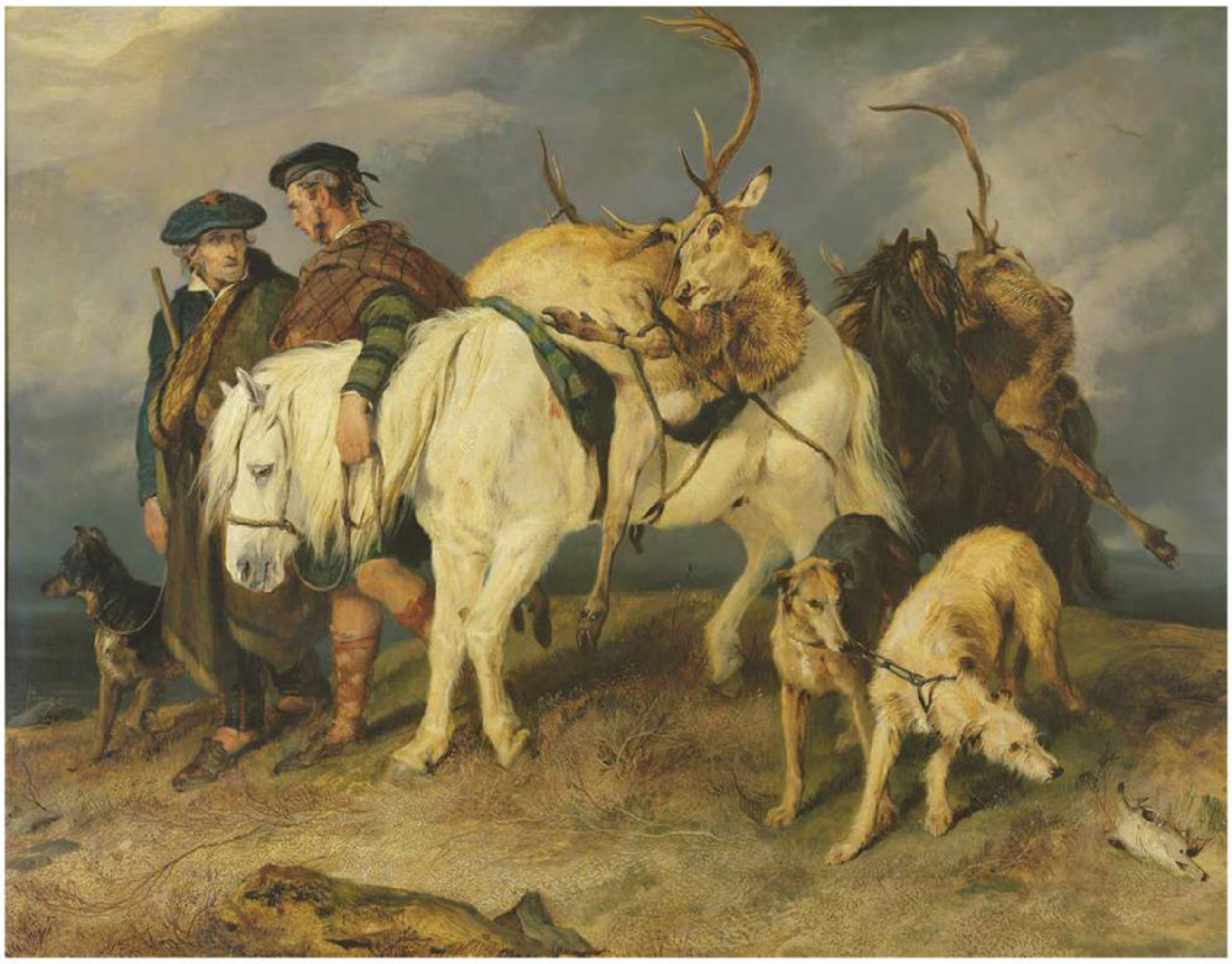
A third set of orders, dated 16 January and this time bearing the signature of William himself, confirmed that the MacDonalds were to be "extirpated". It was in response to these instructions that Glenlyon was dispatched to Glencoe on 1 February to await the green light.

Intense public outcry

The bloodletting that followed two weeks later was, in its immediate aim of killing off Highland Jacobitism, a huge success. Following the Glencoe massacre, William would never again face serious Jacobite agitation in Scotland. But this security was offset by devastating reputational damage.

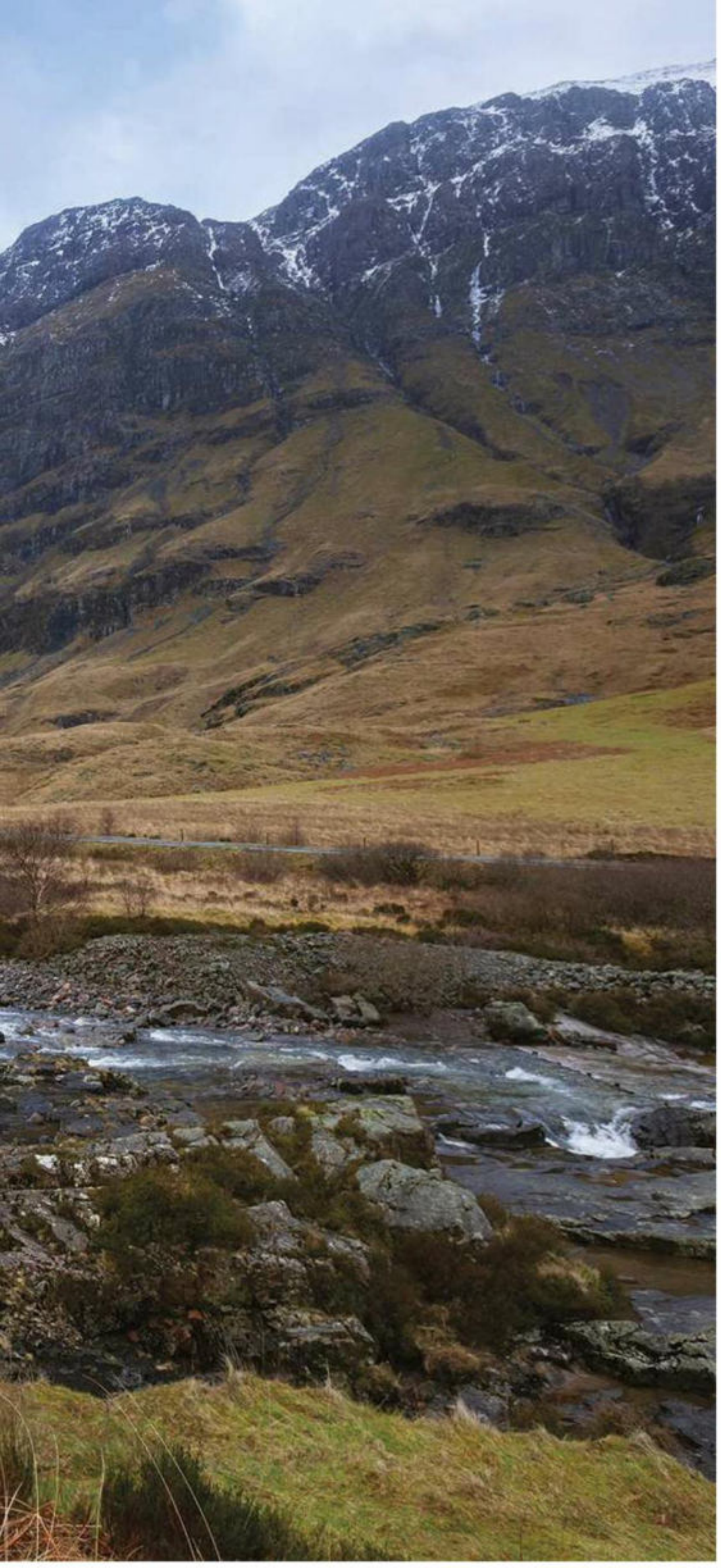
At first, news of the massacre spread slowly. It was not until two months later that

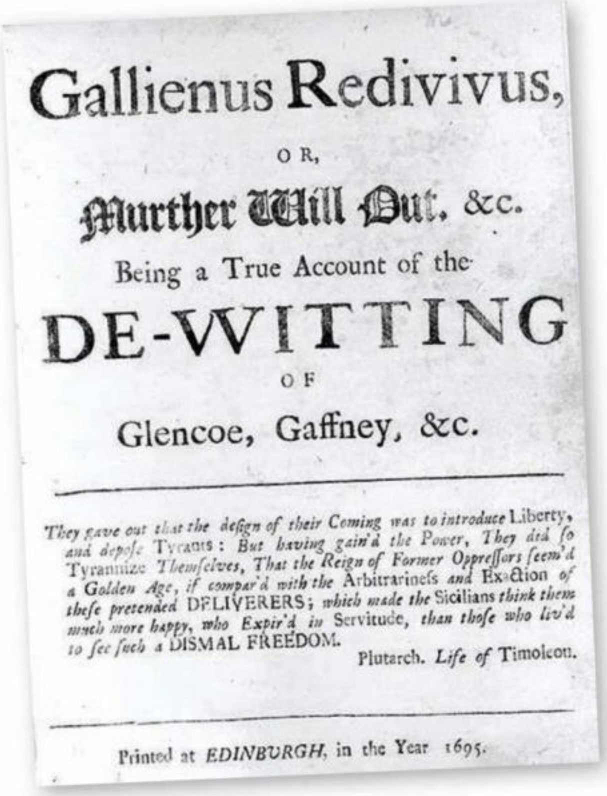
Scene of the crime
Glencoe sits near the south-western end of the Great Glen. The National Trust for Scotland is preparing to launch a £300,000 archaeological investigation into the site of the massacre



Identity crisis Highland deerstalkers depicted in a painting from 1827. The events of 1692 highlighted the differences between Gaelic and Lowland identities

SHUTTERSTOCK/BRIDGEMAN





Gallienus Redivivus,

O R,

Murther Will Out, &c.

Being a True Account of the

DE-WITTING

O F

Glencoe, Gaffney, &c.

They gave out that the deſign of their Coming was to introduce Liberty, *and depoſe* Tyrants: *But having gain'd the Power, They did ſo* Tyrannize *Themſelves, That the Reign of Former Oppreſſors ſeem'd a Golden Age, if compar'd with the* Arbitrarineſs *and* Exaction *of theſe pretended* DELIVERERS; *which made the* Sicilians *think them much more happy, who Expir'd in* Servitude, *than thoſe who liv'd to ſee ſuch a* DISMAL FREEDOM.

Plutarch. *Life of* Timoleon.

Printed at *EDINBURGH*, in the Year 1695.

A scathing account of the massacre – and the king's role in it – published in 1695. Despite this, an official report refrained from censuring William

BRIDGEMAN

For some, Glencoe offered proof of the Scots' brutishness, and the need for Scotland to be 'rescued' by the union with England

the first account of the atrocity appeared in print – in the form of a short and fairly sober account of the killings produced by the Jacobite press in Paris. Soon, however, British Jacobites were capitalising on Glencoe's propaganda potential and, from the end of 1692, a steady stream of pamphlets stirred up an intense public outcry.

Even in an age inured to violence, the cold, calculating nature of the government's actions at Glencoe was horrifying, as was the fact that the soldiers had been living with their victims for a fortnight prior to turning on them. King William, supposedly an antidote to James VII's autocratic regime, and the champion of freedom across Europe, now risked being seen as more vicious than the worst continental despots.

Horror soon turned to outrage, and emotions boiled over in the 1693 session of the Scottish parliament, which demanded an inquiry into the massacre. One was set up, but it never met, and so the 1695 session reiterated the demand more forcefully. This time, the authorities relented, establishing a Commission of Inquiry that *did* meet, submitting its report to the king in June.

The 1695 report condemned the massacre, calling it murder and declaring it "barbarous and inhumane". Most of the main actors, including the military men and, crucially, the king himself, escaped condemnation. But a scapegoat was readily found, and the man chosen to shoulder the blame was John Dalrymple, Master of Stair.

"The Master of Stair's letters had exceeded your majesties' instructions towards the killing and destruction of the Glencoemen," the report intoned, before going on to observe that Dalrymple had "absolutely and positively ordered" the MacDonalds to be "destroyed without any further consideration than that of their not having taken the indemnity in due time."

Thus the commission painted Dalrymple as a bloodthirsty obsessive who had deliberately betrayed the king's trust, and he was formally censured in parliament. He was never to face trial, but having clearly been set up to carry the can for the whole sorry affair, he was eased out of his office as secretary of state before the year was out.

The grisly apogee

Many of the MacDonalds eventually returned to Glencoe, and it remained populated until at least the 18th century. Today, little trace survives of the original settlements, or of the massacre itself; tourists must make do with a stone memorial and a modern visitor centre. But the murders committed on that freezing February morning in 1692 have long since passed into infamy, and over the years they have been pressed into service to further a variety of agendas.

For some, the massacre offered proof of the Scots' brutishness, helping make the case for Scotland to be 'rescued' by the Anglo-Scottish union of 1707. For others, it demonstrated the essential victimisation of the country at the hands of a monarchy vastly more interested in England (and, in William's particular case, the Netherlands). In this reading of history, it was less an advert for union than for independence.

Still others, viewing the massacre as the grisly apogee of Highlanders' enthusiasm for violence and feuding, have used it to argue for the backwardness of Gaelic culture. And some, interpreting Glencoe as a form of anti-Gaelic ethnic cleansing, have suggested that it highlighted the fundamental incompatibility of Scotland's Gaelic and Lowland identities.

Many of these interpretations are historically dubious. However, they serve to demonstrate how the Glencoe massacre has wormed its way into Scottish national consciousness. But with the National Trust for Scotland, which today owns much of the glen, preparing to launch a new, £300,000 archaeological investigation into its history, now is an opportune moment to reconsider the events of 1692. Above all, we should recognise that, behind the layers of recrimination, myth-making and narrative-building, lies a harrowing human tragedy that, more than three centuries later, still retains the power to shock. **H**

Allan Kennedy is a lecturer in history at the University of Dundee. He is the author of *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660–1688* (Brill, 2014)

LISTEN AGAIN To listen to Melvyn Bragg and guests discuss the Glencoe massacre on BBC Radio 4's **In Our Time**, go to *bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00pxrr7*

BBC

HistoryExtra
COLLECTION

FROM THE MAKERS OF *BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE*

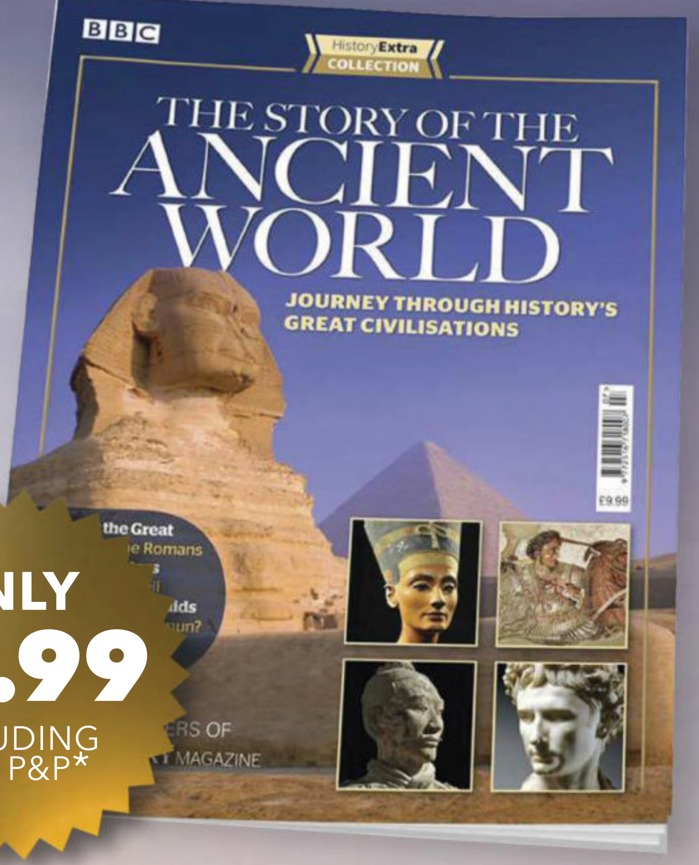
THE STORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

JOURNEY THROUGH HISTORY'S GREAT CIVILISATIONS

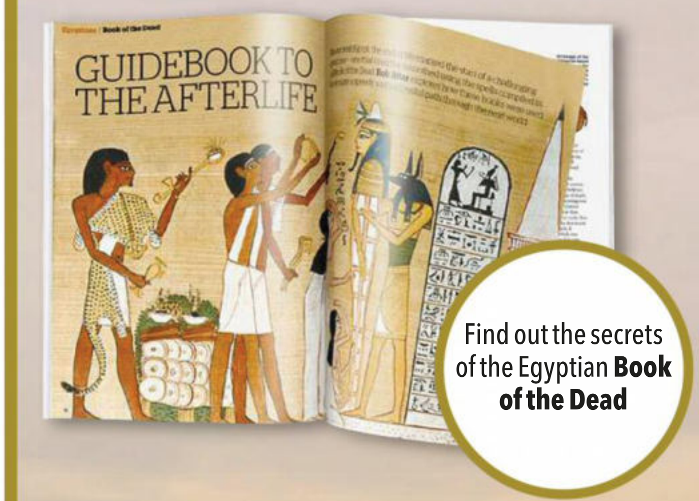
In this special edition, explore the real stories of ancient cultures, from pharaohs and emperors to the lives of ordinary people. Travelling across centuries from Egypt, Greece and Rome to China and Persia, learn about remarkable characters and their often turbulent world. Discover:

- Fresh insights into ancient mysteries
- Expert accounts of major events
- Striking images of ancient wonders
- Biographies of key figures, from Alexander the Great to Augustus

PLUS – subscribers to *BBC History Magazine* receive FREE UK postage on this special edition



ONLY
£9.99
INCLUDING FREE P&P*



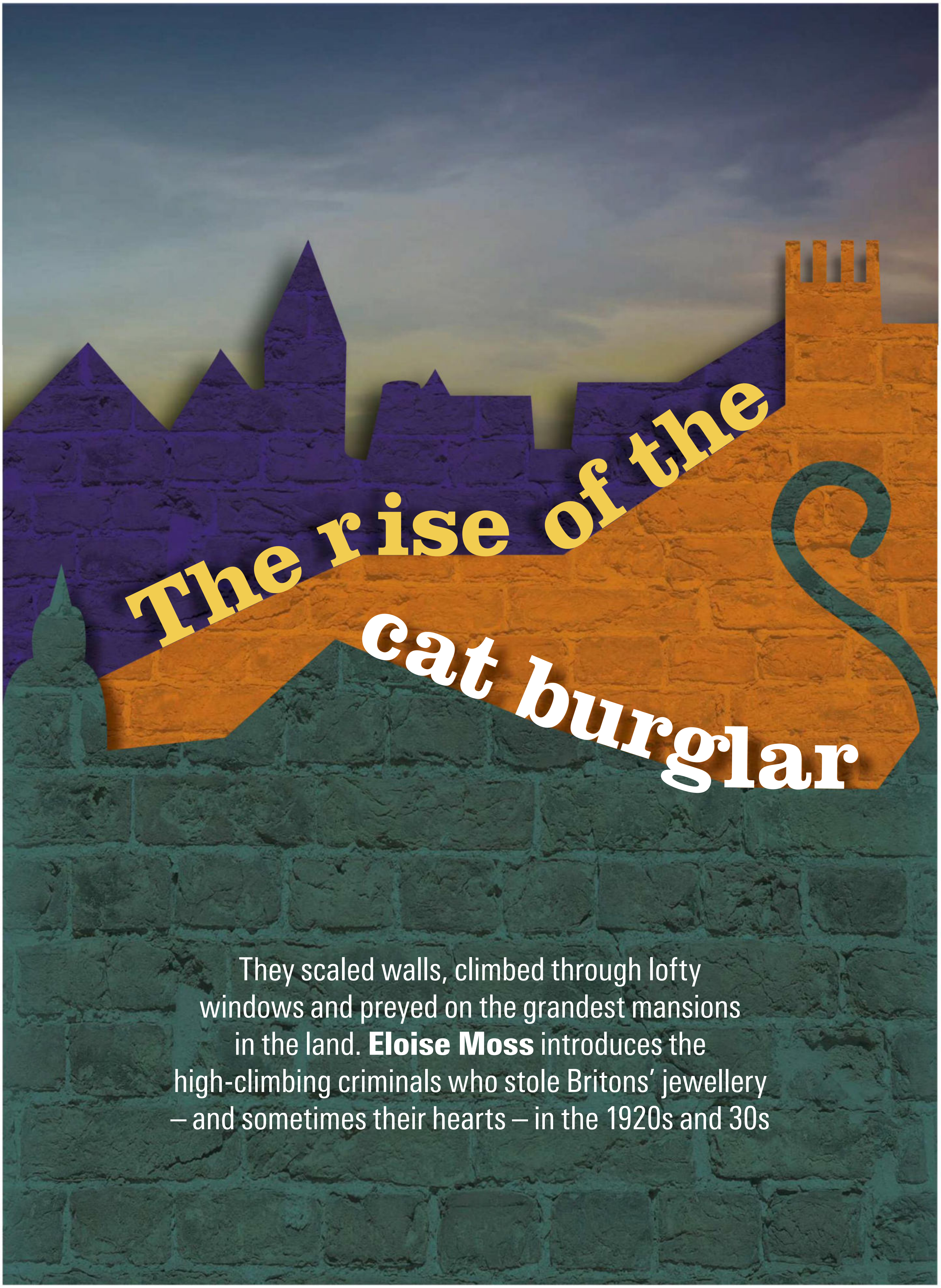
Find out the secrets of the Egyptian **Book of the Dead**

Discover the life of one of the **greatest empire builders**

Enjoy a **nocturnal adventure** in ancient Rome

Order online **www.buysubscriptions.com/AncientWorld20**
or call us on **03330 162 138**+ and quote ANCIENT WORLD 2020

+ UK calls will cost the same as other standard fixed line numbers (starting 01 or 02) and are included as part of any inclusive or free minutes allowances (if offered by your phone tariff). Outside of free call packages call charges from mobile phones will cost between 3p and 55p per minute. Lines are open Mon to Fri 8am – 6pm and Sat 9am – 1pm.
* Subscribers to *BBC History Magazine* receive FREE UK POSTAGE on this special edition. Prices including postage are: £11.49 for all non-subscribers, £12.99 for Europe and £13.49 for the Rest of World. All orders subject to availability. Please allow up to 21 days for delivery.



The rise of the cat burglar

They scaled walls, climbed through lofty windows and preyed on the grandest mansions in the land. **Eloise Moss** introduces the high-climbing criminals who stole Britons' jewellery – and sometimes their hearts – in the 1920s and 30s

ILLUSTRATION BY RACHEL DICKENS/TEXTURE: DREAMSTIME.COM

"Cat burglar who holds women fascinated!" On 20 December 1934, this headline announced to readers of the *Daily Mirror* that one Robert Delaney had been sent to prison for burglary and a string of other crimes.

For centuries, newspapers had filled their pages with tales of opportunistic thieves preying ruthlessly on unsuspecting victims. But Delaney was somehow different. Gone was the contempt with which reporters often treated the perpetrators. It was replaced by intrigue, even admiration.

Delaney's multiple escapades, clambering up the edifices of several wealthy Mayfair mansions to purloin jewellery from the bedrooms of the nobility, had earned him the moniker, the 'king of cat burglars'. The *News of the World* positively swooned in its depiction of "an auburn-haired, debonair young fellow, who has given Scotland Yard more to think about than any dozen ordinary criminals".

Now, stoking the press's fascination further still, Delaney was charged with bigamy as well. It was alleged that he had married two women and "squandered" the £27,000 fortune of one of his wives, who he apparently left destitute.

"You are a menace to society," Delaney was told as he was sentenced to nine years' penal servitude (his third spell in prison). The judge was right: Delaney *was* a menace. But that didn't stop the public lapping up every last detail of his crime spree.

GETTY IMAGES

Sex, stolen goods and the ability to scale walls: these were the hallmarks of the cat burglar. Newspapers first coined the phrase 'cat burglar' in 1907 to describe someone with a particular "skill in climbing". But it was in the 1920s and 30s – during periods of economic depression – that Delaney and his ilk rose to notoriety.

The key to the cat burglars' fame was the fact that they practised a more 'daring' form of burglary than had ever been undertaken before. No wall was too high, no rooftop too lofty to prevent them reaching their quarry. They vaulted fences, traversed chimneys and climbed through windows into bedrooms – and onto the front pages.

Britons were captivated by their exploits. Yet this captivation was also tempered by fear. Police, politicians and security companies fretted that these 'feline' criminals would soon become the norm. In fact, such was their impact on the authorities' imaginations that, by the time the cat burglar scare had subsided in the years before the Second World War (when there were greater job opportunities as the economy shifted towards a wartime footing), it had changed the law of the land.

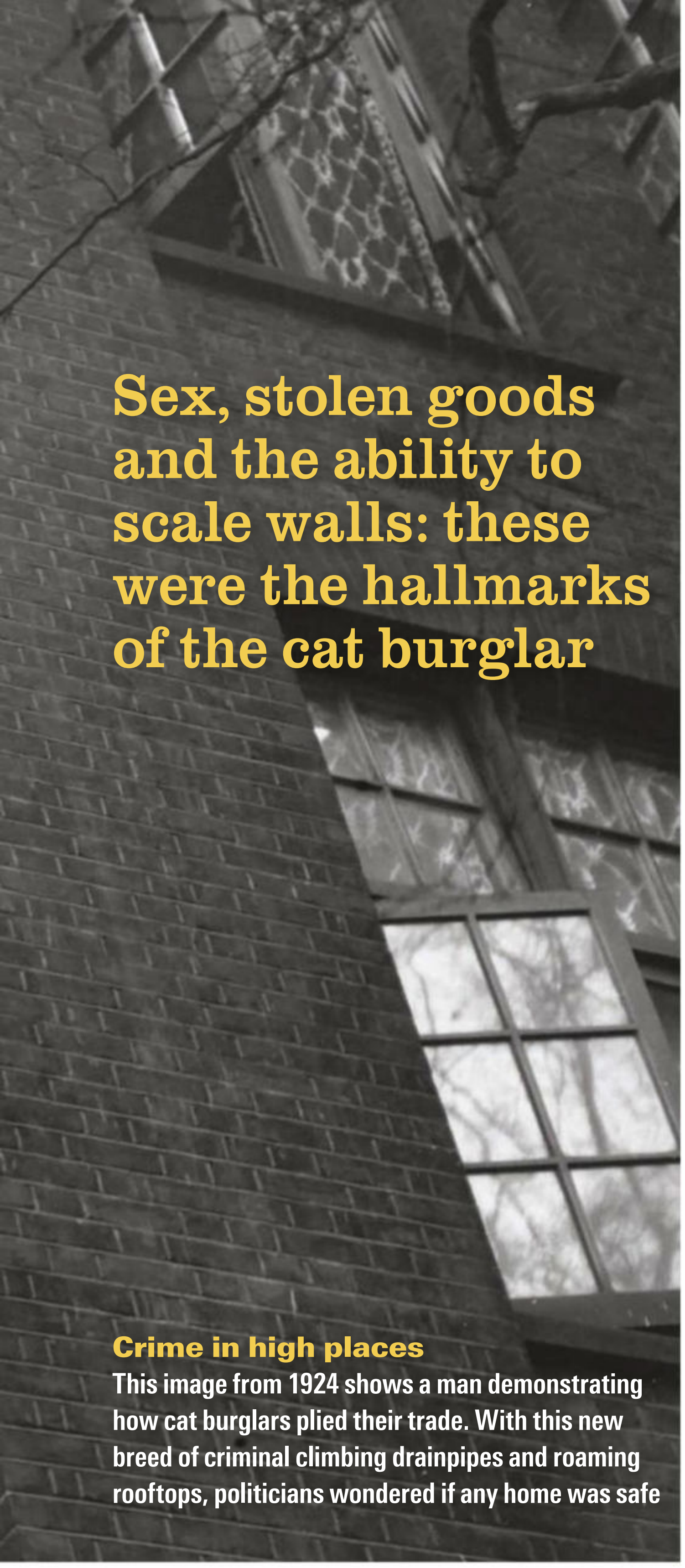
It's hardly surprising that the cat burglar gave the public sleepless nights. Until the Theft Act 1968, burglary was defined in law as a crime that took place during the "night-time" hours that spanned 9pm to 6am, involving a break-in to (or out of) a residential property. In other words, the victims were often fast asleep, blissfully unaware of the thief in their midst.

Cat burglars added another layer of menace to these sinister criteria. They might slip into a house after climbing to an upstairs window or crossing over a rooftop – all suggesting a certain level of athleticism and planning as well as unusual confidence in moving around in the dark. "I pass by your window!" declared Mark Benney, self-proclaimed perpetrator of more than 100 such burglaries. In a series of newspaper articles from 1937 describing his crimes, Benney also detailed a particularly creepy fetish for stealing "the gossamer silk underwear" of women as they lay sleeping.

Yet for all the furore that surrounded cat burglars over the following decades, they accounted for a tiny proportion of all thefts committed in Britain during the 1920s and 30s. Court records and the annual crime reports for this era show that most burglaries were opportunistic, and committed by people living in extreme poverty. They usually amounted to the theft of food, clothes, or small sums of money, snatched from ground-floor rooms in equally poor households.

Snubbing Conan Doyle

The cat burglar scare was not the first time that this kind of offender had fascinated the British public. "Why should I work when I could steal? Why settle down to some humdrum uncongenial billet, when excitement, romance, danger, and a decent living were all going begging together?" So declared the 'gentleman thief' Arthur J Raffles in *The Ides of March*, a fictional short story from 1898. Written by Ernest William Hornung, the brother-in-law of Sherlock



Sex, stolen goods and the ability to scale walls: these were the hallmarks of the cat burglar

Crime in high places
This image from 1924 shows a man demonstrating how cat burglars plied their trade. With this new breed of criminal climbing drainpipes and roaming rooftops, politicians wondered if any home was safe

Holmes' creator Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Raffles was a gleeful criminal mastermind whose burglaries were rarely ever traced. (That the crimes went unpunished was seen as a direct snub to Conan Doyle, who wrote sternly of Hornung's burglar that "You must not make the criminal a hero".)

Confirming Conan Doyle's misgivings, the Raffles tales were a phenomenal commercial success, spawning three short story collections and a novel, as well as numerous theatre and film adaptations.

Part of the public's fascination with Raffles appears to have stemmed from his preferred choice of victim. Hornung's rogue often targeted the mansions of wealthy aristocrats, as would the real-life cat burglars who went on to steal jewels from the homes of the great and good.

The fact that the cat burglar crimewave coincided with a period of great economic hardship was not lost on observers. If the cat burglar gained a kind of folk-hero status in the 1920s and 30s, it was possibly with the help of the sentiment that crime was one of the only ways to breach the growing chasm between rich and poor.

Convicted felon George Smithson (or "Raffles in Real Life", as he dubbed himself in his autobiography of 1930) was one of those to use this idea to garner public sympathy for their own misdeeds. Smithson described how, having climbed into the country mansion of Lady Helen Salt through "the servants' parlour window on the second floor", he "crawled inside, panting, breathlessly waiting to see if any lights appeared or if anybody knew I was there". Though frightened, he recalled his determination that, "given a stroke of luck, there were coronets, tiaras and a multitude of heirlooms and family jewels, as can be found only in the mansions of the old and established families of our land" to steal.

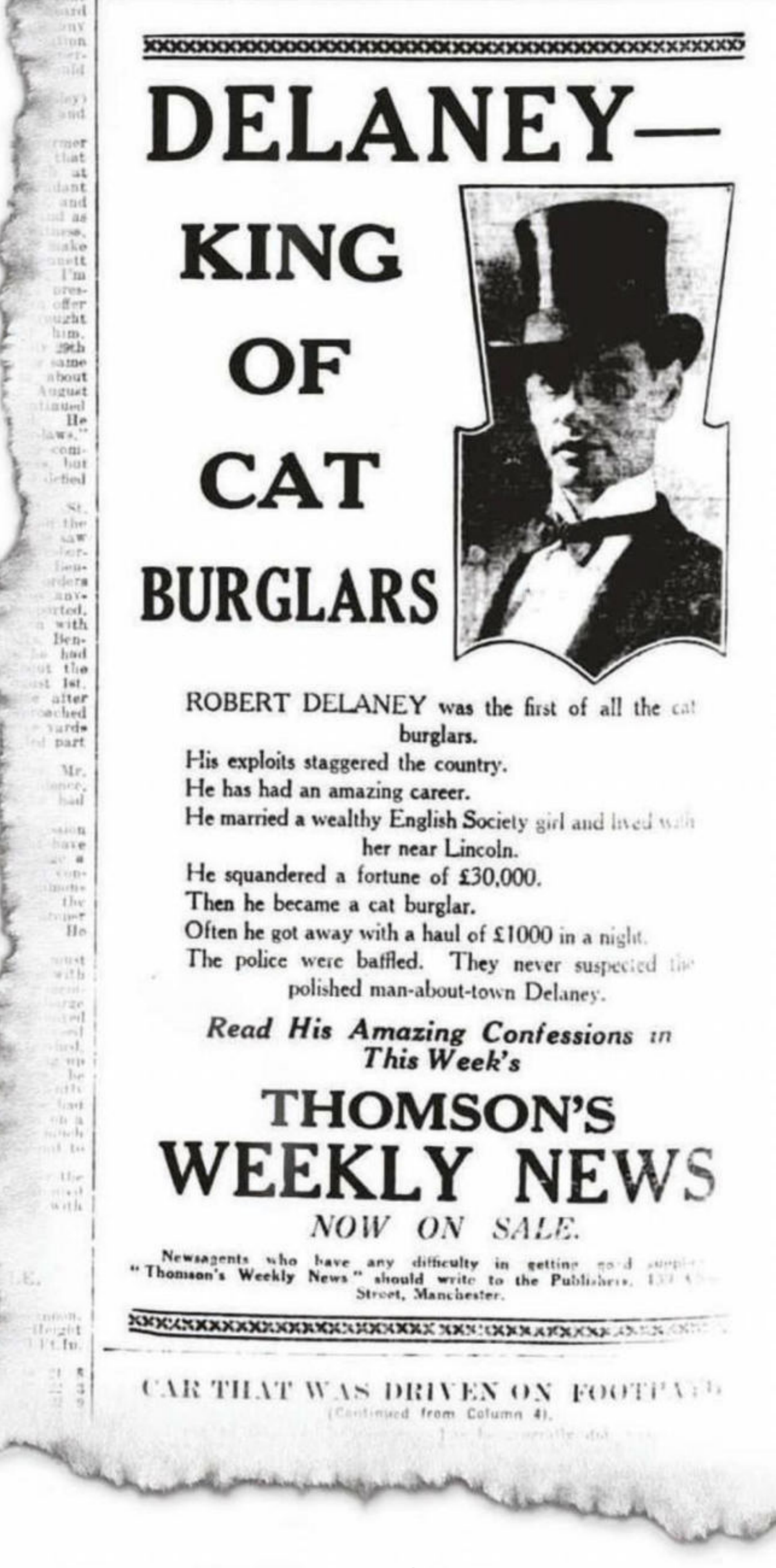
Smithson was casting himself (much like Raffles) as an intrepid redistributor of unearned riches rather than a villain. The chief of the Criminal Records Office – who described Smithson as "a persistent and troublesome burglar" – clearly didn't agree.

Profiting from crime

Cat burglars like Smithson may have proved a nightmare for wealthy home-owners, but for some entrepreneurs, they represented a business opportunity. Seeking to profit from the heightened interest in domestic security among the middle and upper-classes, designers of new "cat-burglar-proof window catches" rushed to exhibit their wares at the Ideal Home Exhibition of 1925 and International Exhibition of Inventions in 1926, both held in London.

Also in 1926, the press reported that the architect George Grey Wornum was designing a house with internal drainpipes, with the aim of thwarting cat burglars' ascent to first-floor windows. In 1924, the *Daily Express* had satirised the new craze for security with their illustration of the 'Cat Burglar Proof House', on which cannons, spikes, alarms, a sleeping policeman and various kinds of cactus were affixed to impede the burglar – provided they first made it across the moat.

None of these security measures arrived in time to prevent Robert Delaney embarking on his one-man crimewave. Delaney was arrested for the first time in 1925 for breaking and entering the Duke of Rutland's mansion near Green Park in London, and for a secondary charge of 'housebreaking' (the



DELANEY—
KING
OF
CAT
BURGLARS

ROBERT DELANEY was the first of all the cat burglars.
His exploits staggered the country.
He has had an amazing career.
He married a wealthy English Society girl and lived with her near Lincoln.
He squandered a fortune of £30,000.
Then he became a cat burglar.
Often he got away with a haul of £1000 in a night.
The police were baffled. They never suspected the polished man-about-town Delaney.

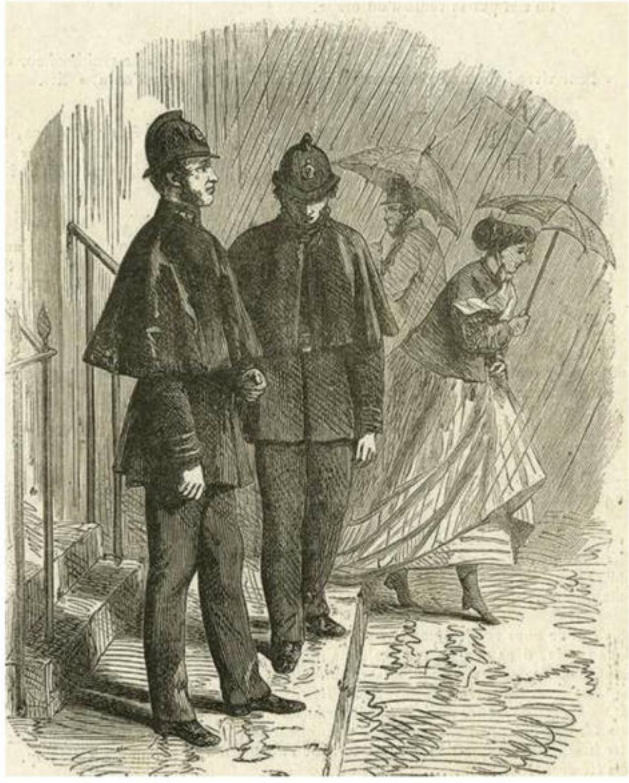
Read His Amazing Confessions in This Week's

THOMSON'S
WEEKLY NEWS
NOW ON SALE.

Newsagents who have any difficulty in getting good [illegible] "Thomson's Weekly News" should write to the Publishers, [illegible] Street, Manchester.

CAR THAT WAS DRIVEN ON FOOTPATH
(Continued from Column 4).

Celebrity crook
ABOVE: Robert Delaney's escapades – which included cat burglary and bigamy – made him a press sensation
BELOW: Police in the 19th century, when most thieves operated at street level



MARY EVANS/BRITISH NEWSPAPER ARCHIVE - JPL MEDIA

daytime counterpart to burglary, carrying shorter jail sentences) at the home of Lady Northcote, from whom he stole a brooch.

During Delaney's trial at the Old Bailey, the court recorder allowed curiosity to get the better of him, reportedly asking: "How do these feline fellows do it?" In response, prosecuting counsel Mr Percival Clarke patiently explained: "I am told they climb up the stackpipe, or the waste-pipe which carries the water from the roof or the bathroom, and are on the outside of the house." Intrigued, the recorder asked: "Is it very difficult?" Betraying a sense of humour, Clarke replied: "I have not tried it myself, but I am told that if you have the proper appliances – rubber gloves, rubber boots and something around your knee, it is not so difficult. At any rate, I think you have one of these persons before you now…"

Reaching the loot

The slippage between condemnation and fascination revealed by this courtroom banter was shared more broadly. Press reports hailed burglars' "enterprising" climbs, printing pictures of victims' houses onto which journalists had drawn the paths taken by burglars over walls, rooftops, stackpipes and through windows to reach the loot.

> The cat burglar scare persuaded the police that they required "a younger and more energetic body of constables"

Unearned riches

Rival burglars Arthur J Raffles (played by Ronald Colman, left) and Crawshaw (John Rogers) star in *Raffles*, a 1930 film about a fictional jewel-thief. Raffles' escapades would make him a huge commercial success

As much as these illustrations gave readers a damning sense of just how vulnerable their houses were to the determined and agile thief, they also created entirely new ways of imagining how one could move across the city. Urban systems of policing and regulation were historically organised around combating street-level crimes. Policemen were supposed to walk their respective beats, keeping an eye out for trouble and noting whether pedestrians and road-users were acting suspiciously. From the 19th century, they were increasingly helped in their efforts by the introduction of street lighting within built-up commercial areas.

By 1933, however, changes in policing methods were afoot, explicitly in response to the threat posed by cat burglars' extraordinary mobility. Determining that the police required "a younger and more highly trained staff of officers and a more active and energetic body of constables" to be able to chase after these modern criminals, Home Secretary Sir John Gilmour instigated a debate in parliament that led to the Metropolitan Police Act 1933. This decreed that constables were to serve in the Metropolitan Police for a fixed period of service of no more than 10 years. As Major JD Mills, MP for the New Forest, explained, this would ensure that police officers would be "alert mentally and bodily" to the dangers of cat burglars, who he termed "the aristocracy of the profession".

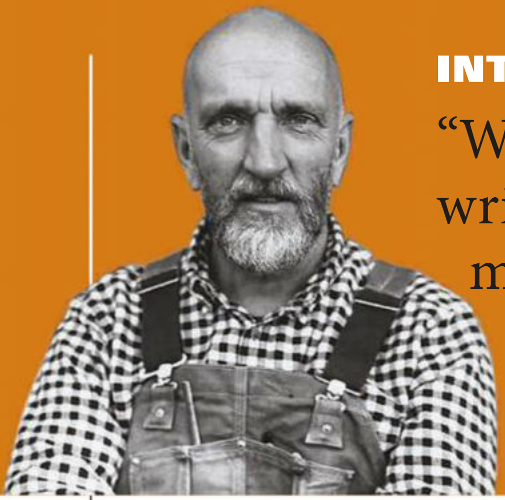
With cities spawning ever more satellite towns and police hard-pressed to maintain surveillance, the rise of these criminal aristocrats offer us a window onto the anxieties haunting interwar Britain. Might unemployed war veterans turn to crime using skills they'd picked up in the army? Was economic hardship a threat to social cohesion? Above all, the oft-cited question 'Who'll bell the cat?' – asking how such criminals were possibly to be found and stopped – played heavily on the minds of politicians. As for the police, they were increasingly charged with keeping an eye on roofs and bedroom windows rather than monitoring the more traditional burglar operating at ground level. H

Eloise Moss is lecturer in modern British history at the University of Manchester. She is the author of *Night Raiders: Burglary and the Making of Modern Urban Life in London, 1860–1968* (OUP, 2019)

MORE FROM US To listen to Eloise Moss discuss the rise of the cat burglar on our podcast, go to **historyextra.com/podcast**

GETTY IMAGES

BOOKS



INTERVIEW

"Working people don't write books. That motivated me to offer another perspective"

Andrew Ziminski discusses his new book on Britain's stone monuments › page 66

SECOND WORLD WAR

"Fires burned as bright as day, asphalt melted, charred bodyparts littered the streets"

Roger Moorhouse reviews Sinclair McKay's *Dresden: The Fire and the Darkness* › page 70

MARGARET THATCHER

"In her final years, she resembled nothing so much as a faded screen actress"

Alwyn Turner on the final volume of Charles Moore's Thatcher biography › page 73

THE PRESS

"Journalists could be fined, pilloried, mutilated, branded, imprisoned or executed"

Simon J Potter considers Ruth Herman's *Grub Street* › page 72

ANCIENT ROME

"Caesar emerges as brave but reckless in the pursuit of his goals and ruthless in his treatment of others"

Kathryn Tempest on Luca Fezzi's book *Crossing the Rubicon* › page 74

DAVID HAMPTON

INTERVIEW / ANDREW ZIMINSKI

"The stonework at Stonehenge is a Gordian Knot of mind-bogglingness"

ANDREW ZIMINSKI tells Ellie Cawthorne how a 30-year career as a stonemason inspired him to explore the history of some of Britain's spectacular stone monuments

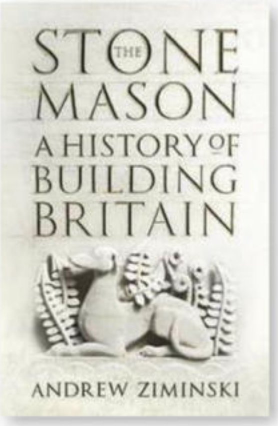
Ellie Cawthorne: Your new book chronicles your hands-on work on some of Britain's most significant stone structures. What has that work involved, and why did it inspire you to write a book?
Andrew Ziminski: Over the course of my career as a stonemason, I've worked across the scope and spectrum of history. From parish churches to Georgian townhouses, Roman baths and medieval cathedrals, I've worked on all sorts of buildings, spanning 2,000 years of history.

When restoring or conserving historic structures, my main concern is to discover why a building has started to fail. Then it's a case of cutting out and replacing anything that's decaying, while maintaining as much of the original fabric as possible. You could say that stonemasonry is basically a case of large-scale dentistry. But it's not just about cutting and fixing stones. One of the most fascinating aspects of my job is observing the different environment, landscape and cast of characters that every single building comes with.

Working people don't tend to write books, do they? They certainly don't write *history* books, and that's something that motivated me to record my impressions and offer another perspective on how people have managed materials to create some extraordinary structures.

How much have the stonemason's methods changed over time?
Since I spend every day absorbed in the past, my work can't help but be coloured by the old way of doing things: how people used tools and materials, how they looked at a building and put a structure together.

The tools I use on a daily basis have changed very little since Greek times. In fact, I was at the Pitt Rivers Museum not so long ago and they've got a 4,500-year-old wooden mallet in there that is almost identical to the one I use. If you look at the surface of the stones at the Roman baths in Bath, you can see that it has been finished in the way we would still do it today. And the tools that they used to lift massive blocks of stone, called lewis pins, they're exactly the same as the ones we still use. I do use power tools, but if there was a solar flare next week and all the power cut out, I could happily carry on in the old ways.



The Stonemason: A History of Building Britain
by Andrew Ziminski
(John Murray, 336 pages, £20)

Which era's capabilities with stone do you find the most astounding, considering the tools they were working with?
The finishing of the stonework at Stonehenge is not just mind-boggling, it's a Gordian Knot of bogglingness. It's absolutely insane how the Neolithic builders managed to finish the upright stones, never mind transport them. There's one stone in particular, stone 56, which has an extraordinarily flat plane across its face. To think that that was created just using mauls – basically big circular stone nodes, some the size of cricket balls, others the size of medicine balls – is absolutely extraordinary.

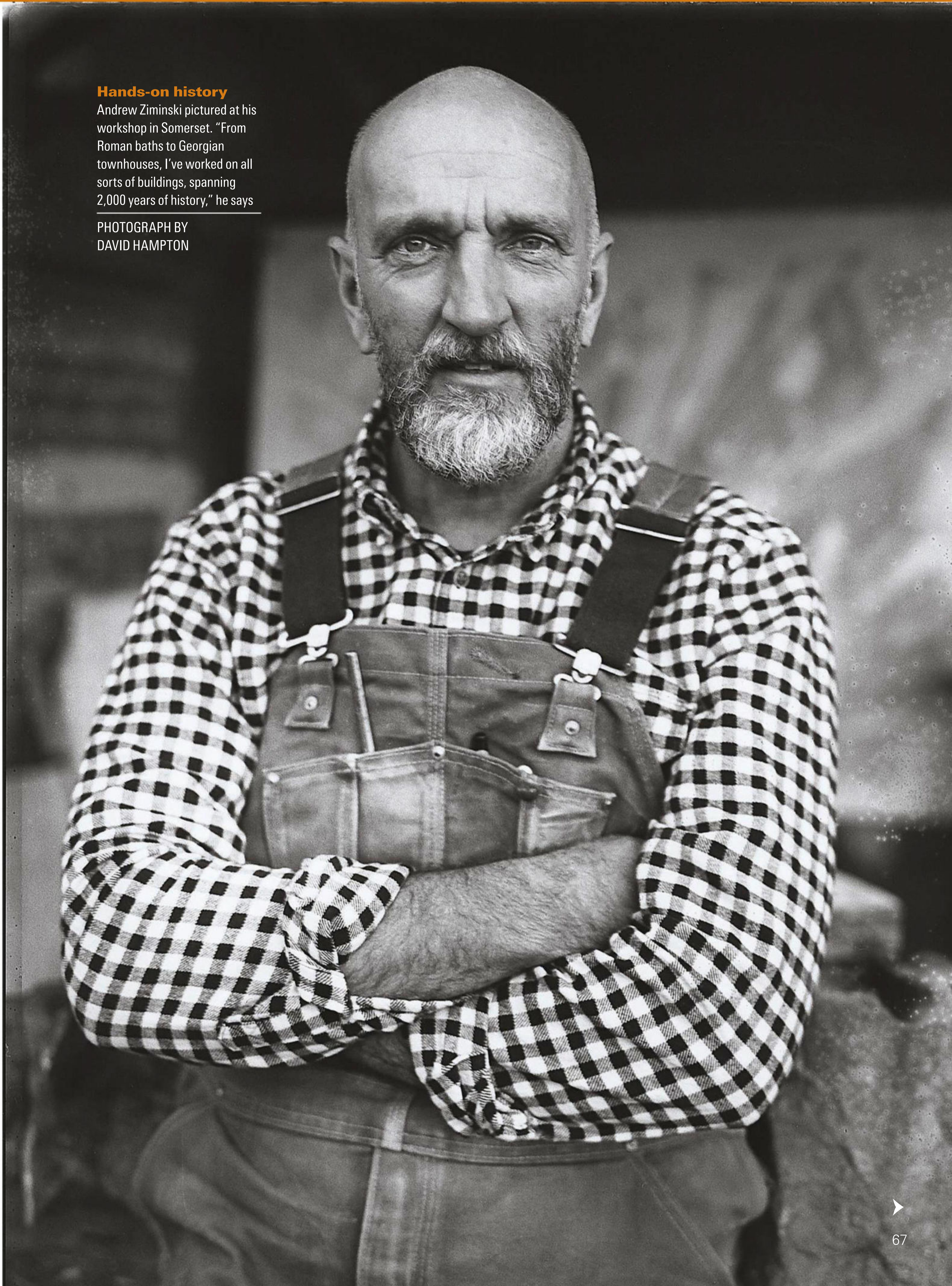
It's true that there are other Bronze Age and Neolithic monuments of greater magnitude, like the Carnac stone rows and stone circles in the Orkneys. But there's nothing else from that time that's been designed with architecture in mind. Stonehenge was built with details such as mortice and tenon joints to hold it all together. It's supremely sophisticated – and it actually fits! The lintels are tongue-grooved at each end to hold them in place. That's an unnecessary extra piece of work to my mind, because these things weigh 20 tonnes each, they're not going to fall off lightly. What's interesting is that mortice and tenon joints and tongue-grooved joints are carpentry joints, aren't they? So there was clearly a carpenter's ethic at work at Stonehenge.

In the book you describe making your own Stonehenge-esque monolith using Neolithic methods. How was that experience?
Tedious. Really tedious. All that pounding away! Sarsen stone, the main ingredient that Stonehenge is made from, is super hard. It's also got a very undulating face, riddled with pock-marks and holes. To turn that material into a perfectly flat plane using just mauls absolutely beggars belief. They must have just pounded and pounded away endlessly. The sarsen sandstone is so unforgiving that it can't possibly have been just three or four people at work, but hundreds and hundreds. It must have been a huge community effort. The social structure required to achieve that work must have been immense.

Of course, the great puzzle is: why was Stonehenge built? I'll leave that one to academics. What *I* really want to know is what happened to the builders of Stonehenge after they put the last lintel on? Why did that sophisticated design capability just disappear, or why was it not matched or copied anywhere else? Why are there not Stonehenges all over the place?

One answer could lie in the fact that they would have been creating enormous amounts of silica sand and would have been breathing it in the whole time. As masons, one of the things we always look out for is the risk of silicosis. We wear full-on masks, but obviously they didn't have those in the Neolithic era. So they would have been dying of this condition fairly soon after conclusion of their task.

Historically, was stonemasonry a respected trade?
There were different layers of acceptability within the trade. Labourers were at the bottom of the pile, mixing the mortar and transporting it



Hands-on history
Andrew Ziminski pictured at his workshop in Somerset. "From Roman baths to Georgian townhouses, I've worked on all sorts of buildings, spanning 2,000 years of history," he says

PHOTOGRAPH BY
DAVID HAMPTON

DAVID HAMPTON

> **"Just thinking about the stonework that has been lost or destroyed as a consequence of the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries makes me feel jumpy"**

up onto the scaffold. Next would be the fixers, with the carvers just above them in the workshop. At the top of the tree would be the sculptors and, at the pinnacle, the master masons. For much of history there were no architects, so masters were the geniuses who came up with extraordinary feats of engineering. Although most master masons are unrecorded by the bishops who commissioned the work, they could earn a great deal of money and were in real demand.

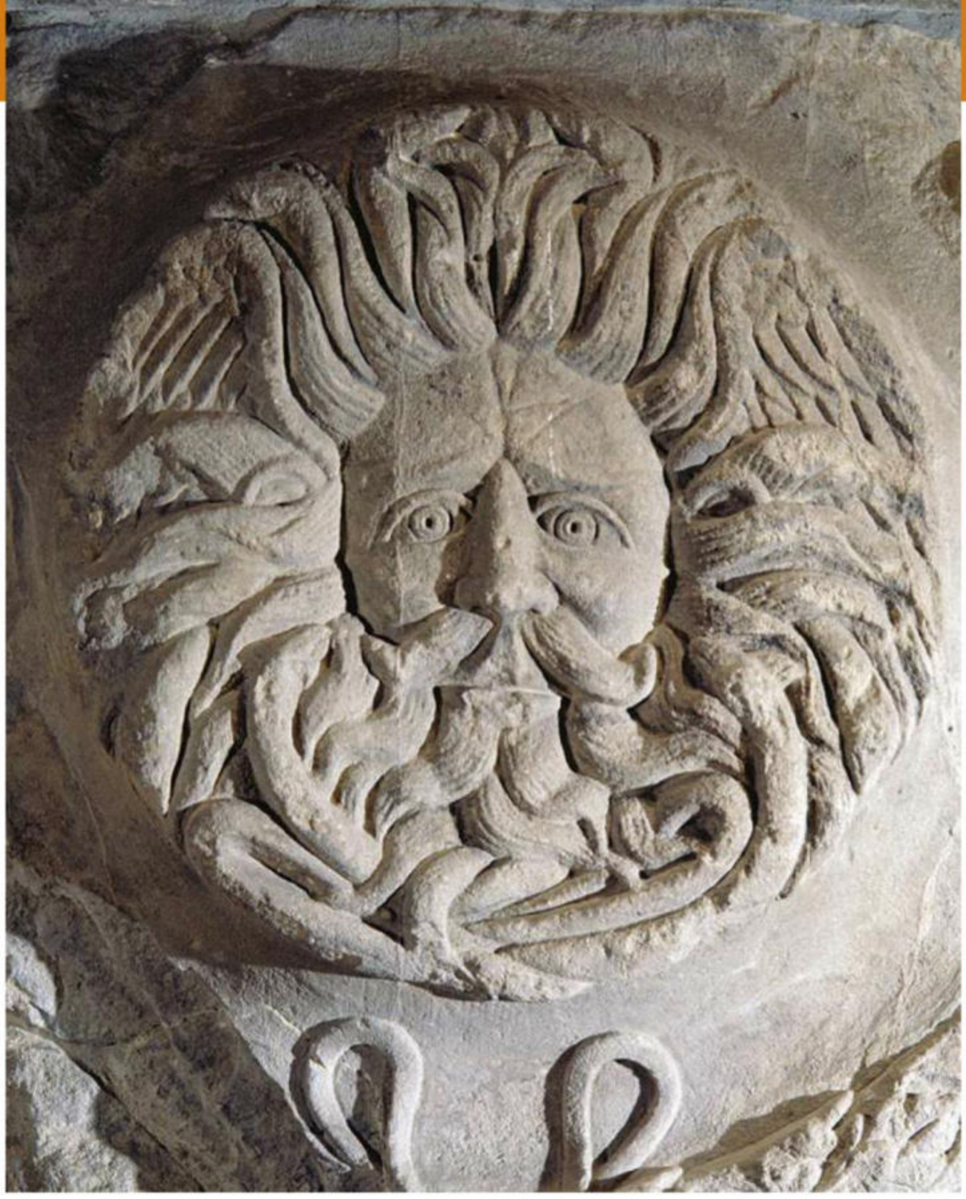
Of course, masons fared better in some periods than others. The medieval period saw several building booms, such as after the Black Death, when all of a sudden people had more disposable cash, and were bequeathing money to build churches. Things were a lot harder after the Civil War, for example, when craftspeople were laid off and people began building small chapels rather than large churches. And of course there was the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries. Just thinking about the stonework that has been lost or destroyed as a consequence of that… gosh, it makes me feel jumpy.

How has Britain's architecture been influenced by other cultures?
Every single day that I work in a church, whether a simple country chapel or a grand cathedral, I can see the hand of Islam at work. Its influence can be seen in everything from window tracery to flying buttresses. Take the squinches that support the spire at Salisbury Cathedral. A squinch is basically an arch built into a corner, which is a purely Islamic piece of engineering. Just look at St Paul's Cathedral. Christopher Wren was a great fan of what he called "Saracenic architecture". I don't know about you, but when I look at St Paul's, I see a dome and two minarets out the front. Even though it's an English baroque building, it's about as Islamic a structure as you get.

And this mix of cultures can be seen even further back. Another career highlight for me was working on the famous pediment of the temple to Sulis Minerva in Bath. The central deity is quite simply not of this world. It's a Gorgon with serpents emerging from its flaming hair. But the way the face stares out at you with its beetle brow and intense frontal gaze is very Celtic. It's a strange conflation of two cultures, two worlds coming together. Sulis was indeed the local Celtic deity. It'd be great to go back to Bath in the Roman era and see how they constructed the temple. I'd be fascinated to see the interaction between the Celts and the Romans in building what is basically a structure from the heart of Rome, right on the fringes of empire.

Working with monuments like this gives you a real sense of the breadth of peoples involved in the building of Britain. Everywhere you go, you see that foreign people had a role to play, which is something I was very keen to convey in my book.

What kind of things do you uncover when you begin peeling back the layers of a building?
It's really common to find objects hidden within the structures of buildings. Skulls of farm animals, coins, bits of clay pipe, candle holders, tons of pins. I could go on. One place we worked on had a load of broken 17th-century or 18th-century bottles hanging by their necks in a row from one of the beams in the roof. That was a bit sinister.



Culture clash This Gorgon's head carving at Bath's Roman baths represents a synthesis of Celtic and Roman styles, says Andrew Ziminski

Then there was a timber-frame house on the edge of the Savernake Forest we worked on. The people who had lived there over the centuries clearly believed they were being assailed by evil spirits. There was graffiti all around the doors and everything we lifted had something strange underneath – a shoe, tiny shells and a cat under the hearth.

If you could encourage everyone to seek out three examples of exceptional stonework in Britain, what would you recommend?
Go to Stonehenge on the evening of the midsummer solstice. If you cast an eye along the flat plane of stone 56 as the sun goes down, you will see it set on an outlying marker stone. At Stonehenge, the sunset is just as important as the sunrise. So I'd nominate that just for the fact that the builders managed to raise a 30-tonne or 40-tonne stone into position in order for it to act as a sort of astronomical instrument. And it is still doing an absolutely spot-on job today.

Next, I'd nominate the perpendicular vaulted roof at Sherborne Abbey, for its bravado and sheer boldness. It's one of the wonders of Britain really, equal to anything created in Europe at the time. What is so mind-bending about this fan vaulting is that it was constructed as a consequence of a fire that had ravaged the former roof. The original Norman vaulting collapsed, so they reconstructed it in the latest style. The master mason integrated the new perpendicular work into old Norman structures absolutely perfectly. When you see how flawlessly it fits together from the top, it leaves you completely lost.

Finally, I'd head for Southwell Minster to admire the 13th-century ecological carving. The stonework in the chapterhouse there is beyond compare. The masons would go out to the field, collect tree leaves and copy them. Carving foliage is really difficult, because bits fall off. But the copy carving of the leaves at Southwell is absolutely stupendous. It lifts the spirits when you go there, it makes you happy to be alive. H

MORE FROM US

Listen to an extended version of this interview with Andrew Ziminski on our podcast soon at **historyextra.com/podcast**

GETTY IMAGES

TICKETS ON SALE NOW

BBC HiSTORY MAGAZINE

History Event
Medieval Life and Death

LAST CHANCE TO BOOK → **British Library, London** 14 March 2020
York St John University 16 May 2020

Get the lowdown on everyday life in the medieval era with a day of talks from leading historians. You can catch the event in London or York, and both days will include five lectures, a buffet lunch and refreshments.

The speakers are:
Sally Dixon-Smith on love and marriage
Hannah Skoda on crime and violence
Chris Woolgar on food
Emma J Wells on religion and faith
Elma Brenner on disease and medicine

Ticket prices:

£95	Subscribers to *BBC History Magazine**
£110	Non-subscribers

* **Subscribers benefit from discounted tickets.** Simply have your subscriber number to hand and enter where prompted. (You'll find your subscriber number on the address label of your magazine. Digital subscribers will find theirs on the subscription email confirmation from *BuySubscriptions.com.*)

TERMS AND CONDITIONS We reserve the right to replace any speaker with an alternative of equal stature in the unlikely event that they are unable to attend. Please let us know when booking of any special access requirements. Tickets are non-refundable and places are limited. There will be a transaction fee of £2.50 for postal tickets. There will be no transaction fee for e-tickets.

For full details, and to book tickets online, go to
historyextra.com/events or call **0844 995 1374****

**Calls cost 7p per minute plus your network's access charge

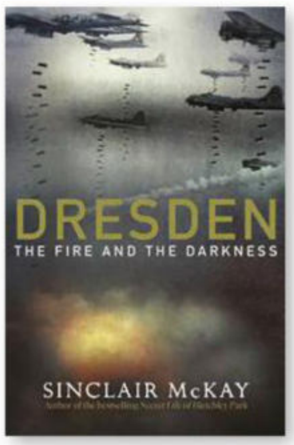
GETTY IMAGES/DREAMSTIME

Life in the aftermath
Civilians attempt to clear Schlossstrasse in central Dresden, a scene that conveys the severity of the damage inflicted on the city

SECOND WORLD WAR

Reduced to rubble

ROGER MOORHOUSE welcomes a vivid new account of the 1945 bombing of Dresden, which reveals why the Allies targeted the city and conveys the horror they unleashed



Dresden: The Fire and the Darkness
by Sinclair McKay
Viking, 400 pages, £20

In mid-February 1945, British and American air forces bombed the German city of Dresden. Over the course of three days – with the main raid occurring on the night of 13 February – they dropped around 4,000 tons of explosives and incendiaries on a city that had previously been renowned for its beauty and cultural importance. Dresden was all but destroyed, engulfed in a hellish firestorm in which an estimated 25,000 people were killed.

The bombing of Dresden has long been controversial and has long been exploited by those with an axe to grind. Its death toll has been mendaciously inflated by apologists for the Nazi regime. Its significance has been both exaggerated by polemicists and mused upon by philosophers. As one of the comparatively few British bombing raids – along with that on Hamburg in July 1943 – that registers with the British public, this is perhaps inevitable, but Dresden has become a hook for a good deal of, usually uninformed, retrospective moral agony. In such circumstances, any serious new examination of the subject should be welcomed.

Sinclair McKay's new book, timed to coincide with the 75th anniversary of the bombing, is just such a tome. It's a weighty and considered investigation of events, using extensive first-hand testimony and archival resources to give a searing immediacy to the narrative.

The story of the raid is told primarily from the perspective of those on the ground, the ordinary Dresdeners and others who bore the brunt of the attacks. Among them are some familiar names like Victor Klemperer, the Jewish academic whose diaries were

TOPFOTO

published to great acclaim, and Kurt Vonnegut, an American PoW, whose reminiscences of the raid would inspire his bestselling novel *Slaughterhouse-Five*.

Other voices, those of ordinary people, are less familiar: workers, schoolchildren and housewives whose memories of that fateful night and its aftermath were preserved in the city's archive. Their accounts bring an urgent and sympathetic human aspect to McKay's retelling.

The story they tell will not be unfamiliar to those already versed in the horrors of the air war, but its capacity to shock is nonetheless undimmed: the fires as bright as day, the melting asphalt, the charred bodyparts littering the streets, the corpses of those baked alive in their cellars. In one memorable passage, McKay relates an eyewitness account of a soldier cycling down the street who is caught by the blast of a high-explosive bomb and blown from his bicycle. In a moment, the man is not only stripped of his clothing by the detonation, he is neatly dissected, his naked and limbless torso coming to rest on the roadside.

Once the fires had abated, Dresden lay in ruins, a vision of hell. Amid the rubble of the city centre, around the ruined Frauenkirche, the central station and the Semper Opera, bewildered survivors wandered, looking for their loved ones, or struggling to take in the enormity of the city's devastation. In the aftermath, funeral pyres for the dead – corpses stacked high interspersed with railway sleepers – would burn for days. Returning to his benighted hometown, the novelist Erich Kästner would write: "Dresden was a wonderful city… [but] you have to take my word for it… the city of Dresden is no more."

Importantly, McKay also includes the experiences of the aircrew in his account. He explains the run-up to the raid, the developing science and rationale of aerial bombing and, crucially, the progress of the attacks themselves – the long perilous approach, the ghostly glow of the target indicator flares, the sea of flames below and the turn for home.

For some of the airmen, he reminds us, the ethical considerations of the bombing were present at the time. One pilot recalled: "We all knew it was a lovely city," and that Dresden was full of refugees and art treasures. But, the airmen were told, the city's strategic importance trumped such concerns.

And we should not forget that Dresden *was* strategically highly significant in 1945. As a major communications node close to Germany's eastern front, its marshalling yards were crucial in the supply of German troops, not least those defending the "fortress city" of Breslau, some 140 miles to the east, which was besieged by the Red Army that same week.

McKay negotiates these treacherous moral waters deftly. Resisting the temptation to read history backwards, he eschews the modish conclusion that the war was so close to ending that February that the bombing was a wanton act of vandalism rather than a considered target.

Instead, he reminds the reader, obliquely at least, that Nazi Germany was still very much capable of expressing its most barbaric impulses in February 1945. In the aftermath of the first raid, for instance, Victor Klemperer had the presence of mind to cover up his yellow star to avoid any potential repercussions. Likewise, the city's Nazi supremo – the odious Gauleiter Martin Mutschmann – did not hesitate to order the public hanging of "defeatists", "saboteurs" and all those who questioned the continuation of the fight.

> **"Dresden lay in ruins, a vision of hell. Amid the rubble, bewildered survivors wandered, looking for loved ones or struggling to take in the city's devastation"**

Even that late in the war, we should remember that Jews were still being deported and murdered, forced labourers were still being worked to death, and the slaughter on the military fronts was accelerating rather than abating.

To a large extent, McKay sidesteps the question of the bombing of Dresden as a war crime, asking – rightly perhaps – whether anything of value can be gained by such a discussion. Instead of engaging in post-facto moralising, he prefers to tell the story of the raid – and does so quite brilliantly.

Dresden: The Fire and the Darkness is an excellent book. It does for its subject what Keith Lowe's *Inferno* did for the bombing of Hamburg, providing a reliable, engaging, informative and, above all, sober narrative of events. The book will enable readers to make up their own minds – should they so desire – on the rights and wrongs of the matter. It is highly recommended. **H**

Roger Moorhouse is the author of several books on the Second World War. His latest is *First to Fight: The Polish War 1939* (Bodley Head, 2019)

AUTHORS ON THE PODCAST

George Morton-Jack on Indian soldiers during the First World War

"World War One was a global conflict. It really was something that affected the whole world, not just Europe.

All the fronts were linked together, and the fighting involved Indians just as much as it did British people – and, equally, their stories are just as much a part of British history."

Francesca Wade on pioneering women of interwar London

"These houses and squares developed at a time when a lot of women were about to get the vote, and after some universities had opened to women in the second half of the 19th century. It was a time of change and new possibility for women who might not want to move from their family home and into a marital home, but might want to experience a period of living alone or with a friend, and it brought a lot of ambitious and interesting women to Bloomsbury."

John Hardman on the myths surrounding Marie Antoinette

"Interestingly, the apocryphal tale that the French queen declared 'Let them eat cake!' hasn't caught on in France in the way it has in England. Why is that? Well, with the hard 'c' in cake, the quote sounds incredibly contemptuous in English. In the French language however, it doesn't quite have the same ring to it."

MORE FROM US Listen to these episodes and more for free at **historyextra.com/podcast**

THE PRESS

Read all about it...

SIMON J POTTER enjoys a book that explores the tumultuous birth of the British newspaper industry at a time when hacks risked severe punishments for saying the 'wrong' thing

Grub Street: The Origins of the British Press
by Ruth Herman
Amberley, 304 pages, £20

London's Grub Street has gone down in history as a semi-mythical place where hacks could be hired to write to order, or where they churned out scurrilous and satirical prose. This new book examines the history of the British press during the Grub Street era – documenting its first decades, from the Civil War to the early 18th century. Herman offers a lively set of snapshots and stories that together illustrate the nature of the early modern British press – and of life more generally in Britain in this period, with all its carnivalesque chaos and diversity.

Ruth Herman explains how the rich news environment and starkly drawn ideological conflicts of the Civil War stimulated the rapid growth of the embryonic newspaper industry. An earlier world of pamphlets and ballads spawned a new form of print culture. Urbanisation and growing literacy helped turn newspapers into a more pervasive means of mass communication. A newspaper might sell relatively few copies, but each one was likely to be passed around among many different people and might be read aloud so that even the illiterate could hear the news. Coffee shops proliferated, providing opportunities both for communal reading and for discussion of the latest news.

Often, Ruth Herman casts an eye to the present, pointing out that concerns about the impact of 'fake news' on politics and society, or about the role of tales of scandal and gossip in debasing newspaper content, are nothing new. Similarly, she argues that, from an early stage, politicians saw how newspapers might be cultivated and used to further political agendas. Yet the country's rulers were also concerned about the destabilising impact of journalism on the established order. Herman traces attempts by governments and officials to curb the press, to censor, tax and regulate newspapers, and to punish journalists for breaking the rules. In the early days of journalism, the penalties were severe: journalists could be fined, pilloried, mutilated, branded, imprisoned or executed.

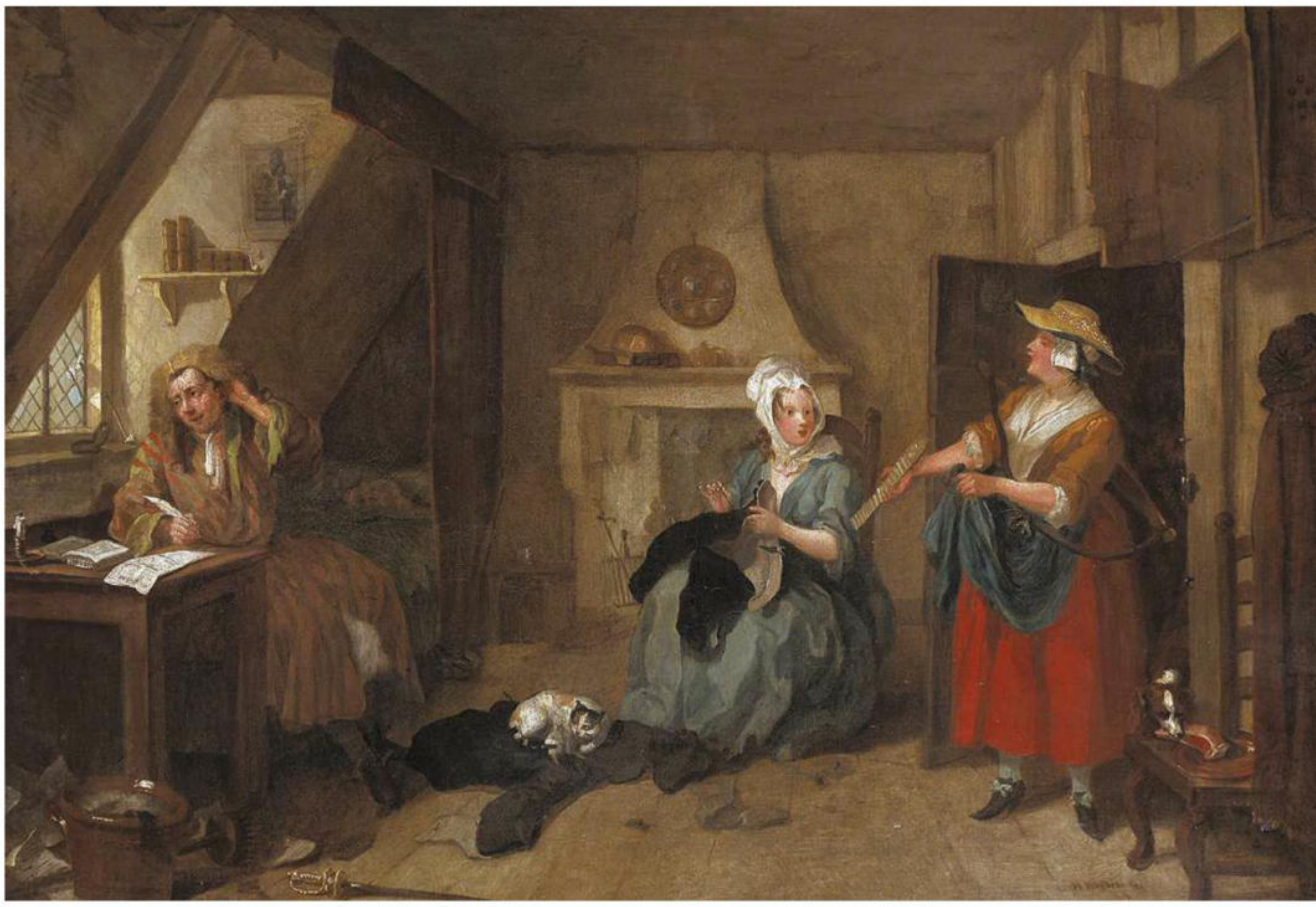
Some of the denizens of Grub Street who appear in this book, including Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe, are famous today. Others, such as Delarivier Manley – "possibly the first professional female journalist in the English language" – are less well known.

Early newspapers did not just cover political and commercial news. They published a wide range of intriguing and titillating content, including stories of monstrous births, uncanny events and society gossip, as well as general advice for readers. One interesting chapter here examines early journalism aimed at women. This takes Herman beyond the sphere of the periodical press, to consider a range of types of publication aimed at female readers. Another chapter looks at the sophistication of the early newspaper advertising business, and how these adverts can shed light on contemporary medicine, marriage, employment and leisure.

> **"From an early stage, politicians saw how newspapers might be cultivated and used to further political agendas"**

Ruth Herman's writing is crisp and accessible, and draws on plenty of newspaper source material from the period. She includes a useful bibliography that points the way for those seeking to learn more about the role the press played in reflecting and shaping our society. **H**

Simon J Potter is professor of modern history at the University of Bristol



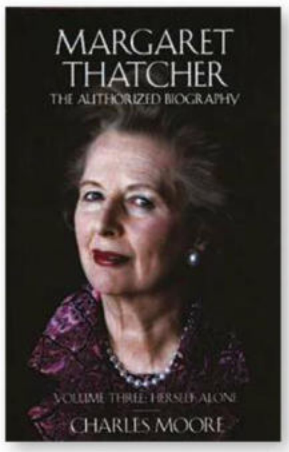
BRIDGEMAN

Hack work William Hogarth's *The Distrest Poet* shows a milkmaid demanding payment from an impoverished writer (left). Swapping words for money was a perilous way to make a living in the early days of the press

20TH CENTURY

The lioness in winter

ALWYN W TURNER applauds the final volume in a monumental trilogy charting the life of Margaret Thatcher



Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography, Volume Three: Herself Alone
by Charles Moore
Allen Lane, 1,072 pages, £35

One of the less obvious contributions to the 1982 Falklands War was made by the British Antarctic Survey, which provided detailed knowledge of the terrain the British Task Force would encounter. Margaret Thatcher didn't forget her friends and in future years ensured the organisation was properly funded. The prime minister also took a keen interest in its research and, as a trained scientist, recognised the importance of its warnings about climate change and the depletion of the ozone layer. Without her, the world would have been even slower to react.

Her work in forcing global environmental concerns onto the political agenda may well prove to be Thatcher's greatest achievement, but there was a personal cost. "Do you find," she lamented, "that ever since we banned those ozone depleters, it's been impossible to find hair lacquers that work?"

The third, final and best volume in Charles Moore's epic biography is full of such wonderful detail. The book starts with Margaret Thatcher on the day after her third consecutive election triumph in 1987, the victor in battles both political and economic, a politician at the absolute peak of her authority. It was not to last. Within two years, sworn enemies and faint-hearted friends were conspiring to dethrone her. In 1990, they succeeded, leaving her out of power, alone and confused, "with an empty diary and a broken heart".

Europe, the issue that tore apart the triple-axis of Thatcher, Geoffrey Howe and Nigel Lawson, is inevitably at the core of the book. It produced bitterness that continued to eat away at the Conservative party, causing problems for every subsequent leader, and drove members out to both left and right.

Thatcher herself was responsible for much of the poison, with her post-premiership attacks on John Major, but Moore rightly gives equal weight to her status as a global figure in this period. However much she divided the British people, she was acclaimed abroad as a doughty fighter for freedom, and remained committed to driving the debate on Russia, the Balkans and Hong Kong.

This final section of the book is the strongest of all. Stripped of office and with her mental powers waning, a frailer but still formidable Thatcher emerges.

In her final years, as her carers ensured that her hair, make-up and clothes remained as perfect as ever, she resembled nothing so much as a faded screen actress, still big even if politics had got small without her. But then, she always was a theatrical trouper, as those gleeful photo-opportunities with calves, tanks and litter demonstrated.

> **"Sworn enemies and faint-hearted friends conspired against Thatcher. In 1990, they succeeded, leaving her 'with an empty diary and a broken heart'"**

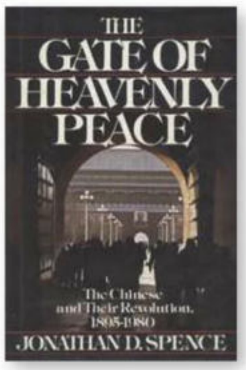
The best stories in the book are from this post-Downing Street period. There's Thatcher at Ascot, backing a string of winners and exclaiming: "I'm not sure the Methodists were right about this gambling stuff!" Better yet, there's a septuagenarian Thatcher telling a bedtime story to her six-year-old granddaughter and drifting off into a detailed account of the Falklands War.

The length may deter a general reader, but now that it is complete, it's clear Moore's mighty work is the biography Thatcher deserved and history requires.

Alwyn W Turner's books include *Rejoice! Rejoice! Britain in the 1980s* (Aurum, 2010) and *A Classless Society: Britain in the 1990s* (Aurum, 2013)

THE CLASSIC BOOK

Rana Mitter praises a masterful study of a turbulent century for Chinese society



The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and their Revolution, 1895-1980
by Jonathan Spence
(Penguin, 1981)

This was the first book of modern Chinese history that I ever read, back when I was just 16 years old. Although I must have read hundreds more since then, I still think that this is one of the most influential and important books on Chinese history that I have encountered. More than 30 years later, as a historian of China myself, I still go back to it.

The Gate of Heavenly Peace tells the story of the reformers and revolutionaries who shaped modern China between the final years of the Qing dynasty at the end of the 19th century and the early years of the post-Mao period.

Extraordinary characters walk through its pages, including tragic figures such as the communist revolutionary Qu Qiubai and the poet Xu Zhimo, both of whom died young. Another notable appearance is from the feminist firebrand Ding Ling, who would run off to join Mao during the Second World War and become one of China's best-known writers.

But it's only on rereading that I realised how skilfully Spence weaves these human stories into an argument about modern China, suggesting that it was a place with room for liberal and cosmopolitan thinking even as its people were forced to make terrible choices in the face of war, turbulence and profound social change.

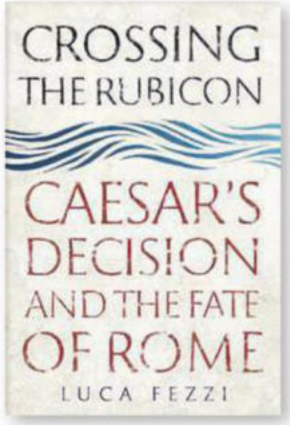
The graceful prose and subtle analysis of this book show exactly why Spence is regarded as one of the great interpreters of Chinese history to the western world.

Rana Mitter is professor of the history and politics of modern China at the University of Oxford

ANCIENT ROME

Will to power

KATHRYN TEMPEST is impressed by an account of a crucial turning point in Roman history, as Caesar's troops marched on the capital and the Republic descended into civil war



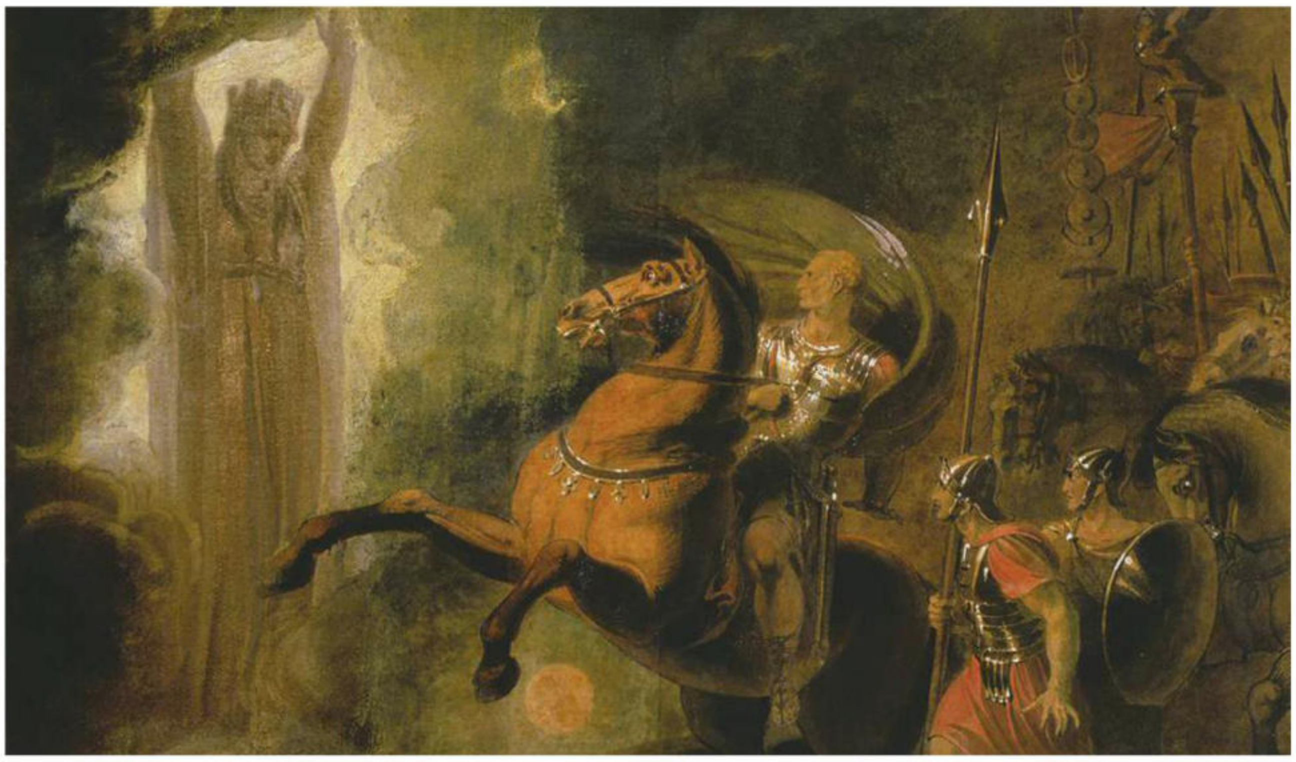
Crossing the Rubicon: Caesar's Decision and the Fate of Rome
by Luca Fezzi
Yale University Press,
384 pages, £25

In early January 49 BC, Rome's fate hung in the balance. Caesar's long war with Gaul was over. The pressing question now was what would happen next? For his part, Caesar wanted to lead his army in triumph through the city, and from there to embark immediately upon a second consulship – the most powerful political post in Rome. This seamless transition from military command to consulship would render Caesar untouchable: holders of *imperium* were uniquely immune to prosecution.

But his enemies had other plans: they demanded that he give up his command and return to Rome as a private citizen. Realising that to do so would spell doom for his career, if not his life, Caesar took a bold decision and crossed the Rubicon – the small river that separated Italian Gaul from Italy proper. To lead an army onto Italian soil was an act of aggression, as Caesar well knew. His biographer Suetonius tells us Caesar shouted to his men: "Let's go to where the signs of the gods and the injustice of the enemy summon us. The die is cast." What followed was four years of civil war, the collapse of republican government and the rise of one-man rule.

However, as Luca Fezzi makes clear in this impressive new study, the fate of Rome did not rest on Caesar's decision alone. The first seven chapters set the scene with a broad sweep of key moments when the Republic came under challenge. From the historic threat of Gaul to the factional in-fighting of the Senate, revolutionary plots and religious scandals, Fezzi charts the circumstances that led to the initial co-operation of Pompey and Caesar, before looking at the seeds that gave rise to the two men's bitter conflict.

Caesar emerges from the pages as brave but potentially reckless in the pursuit of his goals, a man who put great stock in the fundamental rights of citizens yet was ruthless in his treatment of others. Caesar knew the importance of winning over the Roman mob and would use the threat of an external enemy to galvanise his own position. He was a master of what today we would call political propaganda, and a man who would infringe the rules to secure success.



Defining moment In a painting (c1793) by English artist Richard Westal, the goddess Roma appears to Caesar on the banks of the Rubicon. The reality, argues Luca Fezzi in a new book, was more complex

BRIDGEMAN

Yet Pompey was a "teenage butcher" and a man of dangerous ambition. As an autocrat, he was too fearful of assassination and unpopularity. One might even venture to call him "weak". Fezzi goes on to argue that it was ultimately the actions of Pompey that were responsible for so much of what happened. According to this reconstruction of events, the most fateful day for Rome was 17 January 49 BC, when Pompey ordered the Senate to follow him out of Rome. Had he put up a good defence of the city, he could have avoided the "domino effect" that followed.

> **" Caesar put great stock in the rights of citizens yet was ruthless in his treatment of others. He knew the importance of winning over the Roman mob "**

One might object, as Fezzi admits, that Pompey's comeback was remarkable. In moving the conflict from Italy to Greece, Pompey took control over the war in an arena where he had better access to resources. By the time Caesar arrived on the scene, Pompey had amassed an enormous army, great wealth and provisions of every kind – and his strategy almost worked. But that is not the point: accounts of Pompey's escape are unequivocal about the chaos and confusion it triggered, and the focus here – and the book's success – is the weaving of contemporary and other ancient sources into the story.

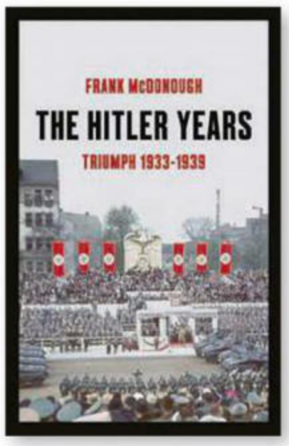
In so doing, Fezzi provides a fast-paced narrative, scholarly yet accessible, which provocatively asks new questions of the evidence. The result is an engaging and stimulating book, one that empowers the reader to imagine in vivid detail the political crisis and emotional turmoil to which Rome fell during that historic year. H

Kathryn Tempest is reader in Latin literature and Roman history at the University of Roehampton

NAZISM

Fascism on the rise

JANE CAPLAN considers a day-by-day reconstruction of life in Germany under the Nazis in the 1930s



The Hitler Years: Triumph 1933–1939
by Frank McDonough
Head of Zeus, 488 pages, £30

Popular history writing has not kept pace with the continuing public interest in Nazi Germany. Readers willing to face the long haul have a couple of options. They can still pick up William Shirer's *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960). Its heroic length (1,250 pages) is at least less than the more recent and far more authoritative *Third Reich Trilogy* by Richard J Evans, which weighs in at almost 2,500 pages. The market for a less daunting account seems obvious. But whether Frank McDonough's book, the first of two volumes that will cover 1933–45, will fill this space may depend more on one's literary than historical taste.

All historians have to balance the demands of chronology and structure, even if the two are in principle not mutually exclusive. McDonough opts for a strictly chronological, day-by-day narrative, arguing this is friendlier to general readers than the usual kind of thematic approach that provides students with exam-ready knowledge. His strategy accordingly launches readers from Hitler's breakfast on New Year's Day in 1933 through a blizzard of dates and events that ends seven years and 450 pages later with the broadcast of Goebbels' New Year's Eve message in 1939. In between lies a narrative powered by the driving momentum of the calendar.

This chronicle-like device, which echoes McDonough's 'This Day in History' Twitter feed, offers a sense of immediacy. It forces readers into the perspective of contemporaries facing an unknown future, and illuminates the sense of history unfolding in the moment with the words of numerous witnesses extracted from an impressive range of sources. The approach works best for episodes of concentrated political drama, such as the successive crises over Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938. McDonough devotes unusually detailed attention to these episodes, presumably because they lend themselves to this kind of striking day-by-day presentation.

But the calendrical drumbeat also exacts a price. Its rhythm becomes repetitive, perversely threatening to dilute the theatrical tension of the major crises. More importantly, it leaves readers too much at the mercy of time's neutral dynamic, thereby downplaying the historian's obligation to shape and apply perspective. Issues that don't readily adapt themselves to the calendar have to be slotted in where an opening offers: for example, the discussion of Nazi cultural policy attached to Goebbels' appointment as minister for people's enlightenment and propaganda on 13 March 1933, or the summary of standards of living prompted by Hitler's visit to the new Volkswagen works on 26 May 1938. The index, which contains few references to important themes but focuses on the names of places, people and organisations, is of little help here. It is virtually impossible to break through the chronological wall. Readers are better served by the book's lavish illustrations. They include some stunning spreads, such as the line-up of shifty-eyed political leaders who have just signed the infamous Munich agreement of 30 September 1938.

> **"The book is powered by the driving momentum of the calendar, but its rhythm becomes repetitive"**

Overall, the book suggests there are sound reasons why McDonough's predecessors have not chosen his day-by-day strategy. Still, taken on its own terms, this is a comprehensive and workmanlike survey that offers readers not only the dominant political story but also striking details that bring a complex and challenging epoch to life. H

....

Jane Caplan is emeritus fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford, and the author of *Nazi Germany: A Very Short Introduction* (OUP, 2019)

FROM FACT TO FICTION

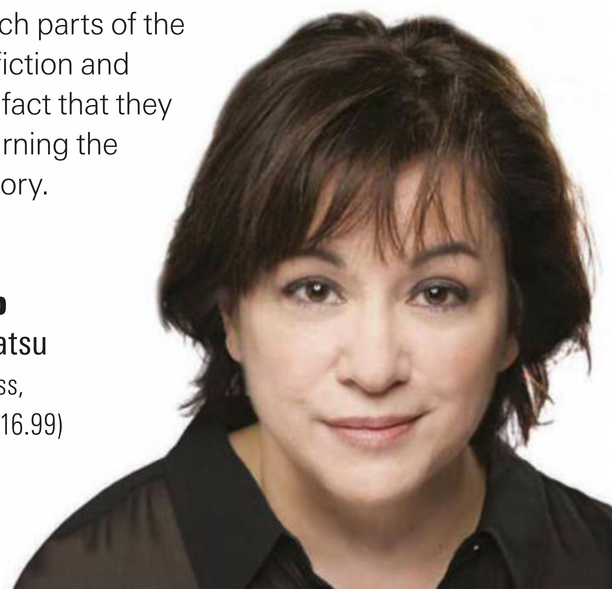
Ghost ship

Alma Katsu on her new novel, *The Deep*, a spine-chilling horror story set aboard the *Titanic*

Why do we still find the *Titanic* story so fascinating?
Few historic events continue to hold the public in thrall like the sinking of the *Titanic*. Why, even *Downton Abbey* borrowed some of its glamour! It is the perfect emblem of its age: the splendour of the Edwardian era coming to an end, exposing societal problems – crushing economic inequality, women's suffrage – that couldn't be ignored any longer.

Why does the doomed ship make an evocative setting for horror fiction?
It was over-the-top in so many ways: the biggest, the fastest, the most luxurious liner of its day, carrying a huge number of millionaires and other elites. The world was watching, as the White Star Line had captured the public's imagination. But this was the maiden voyage: anything could happen, and if things started to go wrong, they'd be stranded in the worst possible circumstances. It's the perfect set-up.

What were the challenges of weaving together the stories of fictional characters with real-life figures?
There are more fictional characters in *The Deep* than in my previous novel about the Donner Party [pioneers who spent a winter snowbound in the Sierra Nevada], *The Hunger*. That made it an easier book to write in some ways. Like in the film *Titanic*, readers will see the famous names they expect – the Astors, Benjamin Guggenheim, journalist WT Stead – but they'll meet new characters who are completely made up. It's a lot of fun to expose readers to history they might otherwise be unaware of – though it's a little more challenging with the *Titanic*, which has legions of devoted fans, than it was with the Donner Party. I love hearing from readers who are so curious about which parts of the novel are fiction and which are fact that they end up learning the actual history.



The Deep
by Alma Katsu
(Bantam Press,
432 pages, £16.99)

SUZETTE NIESS

SPECIAL
MOTHER'S DAY
OFFER

HOMES
& ANTIQUES

Your Mother's Day gift all wrapped up!

A year's subscription to *Homes & Antiques* magazine **PLUS** two beautiful Emma Bridgewater mugs for just £45.40

MUGS
WORTH
£39.90

HOMES & ANTIQUES
INTERIORS WITH SOUL
Divine by design
How to create a heavenly home with church salvage
WIN! £2,500
An unusual ceramic... STOKE'S BEST KEPT SECRET?
AUCTION UPDATE
6 hits from the salesroom
Art Deco Delights
Spinning A YARN
ANTIQUES TO LOVE
MANTEL CLOCKS
DINING CHAIRS
COPPER KITCHENWARE
ARTISTS' PRINTS
Fresh ways to style heritage pieces and heirlooms with the latest finds
SPRING INTERIORS

SUBSCRIBE AS A GIFT OR FOR YOURSELF

- **Save a fantastic 30%*** on the shop price
- Pay **just £45.40 every 13 issues** by Direct Debit
- Receive a **pair of Emma Bridgewater mugs** – Sweet Pea Multi + Red Rose ½ pint mugs worth £39.90

SIMPLE WAYS TO ORDER

Visit buysubscriptions.com/HTH320HA
Or call 0333 016 2117 & quote HTH320HA

HOMES & ANTIQUES: THE MAGAZINE FOR LIVING WITH OLD AND NEW

*Mugs and 30% saving are only available to UK residents paying by Direct Debit. Stock is subject to availability and *Homes & Antiques* magazine reserves the right to substitute the mug set for another of similar value. In stock items will be sent separately within 28 days of payment. Your subscription will start with the next available issue. UK calls will cost the same as other standard fixed line numbers (starting 01 or 02) and are included as part of any inclusive or free minutes allowances (if offered by your phone tariff). Outside of free call packages call charges from mobile phones will cost between 3p and 55p per minute. Lines are open Mon to Fri 8am-6pm and Sat 9am-1pm. **Offer ends 31st March 2020**

ALSO ON THE BOOKSHELF

WORDS BY **MATT ELTON** AND **ELLIE CAWTHORNE**

VIKINGS

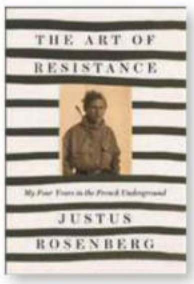
Saga Land
by Richard Fidler
and Kari Gislason
(ABC Books, 480 pages, £12.99)
NOW IN PAPERBACK

Inspector Norse

Part history, part journalistic account, this is a lively investigation of the Icelandic Sagas – histories of the region compiled in the Middle Ages. The cast of characters, set out at the beginning of the book, is a good indication of its tone, incorporating historical figures, demonic and divine creations from folklore, and the authors themselves. The result is a compelling overview of a land and its people.

WW2

The Art of Resistance: My Four Years in the French Underground
by Justus Rosenberg
(William Collins, 320 pages, £20)

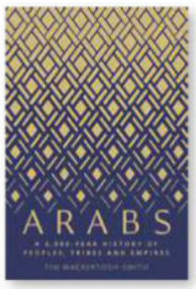


Remembering the resistance

Justus Rosenberg was just 16 when his parents sent him from Danzig to Paris to escape the rise of anti-Semitism. Moving to Toulouse as the Second World War broke out, he joined the Emergency Rescue Committee, a group that went on to help 2,000 people escape Nazi persecution. Now 98 years old, Rosenberg offers a vivid look back at a life lived against great odds, studded with fear, danger and humour.

MIDDLE EAST

Arabs: A 3,000-Year History of Peoples, Tribes & Empires
by Tim Mackintosh-Smith
(Yale, 656 pages, £12.99)
NOW IN PAPERBACK

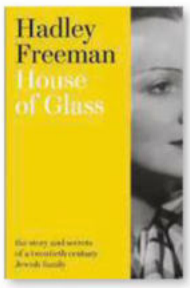


An epic history

This history of the Arab peoples deepens and complicates our view of their past, yet remains accessible and absorbing throughout. Diverging from tellings that pin Arabian history to the rise of Islam, Mackintosh-Smith delves further back and further afield, stressing the role of language in helping a multiplicity of tribes and empires coalesce. He never loses sight of the role of individual people, either.

20TH CENTURY

House of Glass: The Story and Secrets of a Twentieth-Century Jewish Family
by Hadley Freeman
(Fourth Estate, 448 pages, £16.99)

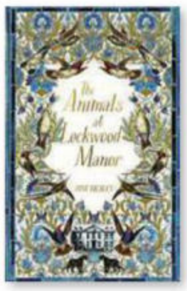


Family secrets

Photos, photocopies, a Picasso-signed drawing: these are among the items found by *Guardian* journalist Hadley Freeman when searching through her grandmother's closet after her death. Together, they sent Freeman on a voyage through her family's past, taking in prison camps and fashion houses along the way. Her discoveries, and what they tell us about the present, form the basis of this lively memoir.

FICTION

The Animals at Lockwood Manor
by Jane Healey
(Mantle, 352 pages, £14.99)



Still life

When it comes to eerie settings for a gothic novel, a crumbling country house stuffed with taxidermied animals is hard to beat. This is Healey's titular Lockwood Manor, which in 1939 becomes home to the evacuated specimens of the Natural History Museum. Hetty Cartwright is charged with keeping them safe, but soon realises that there is more to the unsettling manor house than first meets the eye.

VISUAL

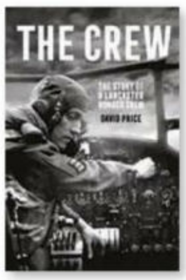
Stuart Style: Monarchy, Dress and the Scottish Male Elite
by Maria Hayward
(Yale, 368 pages, £45)

Power dressing

For any royal figure, fashion choices are far from a frivolous matter – dressing to impress has long been an important method of broadcasting messages about a ruler's power and personality. This lavishly illustrated book rifles through the wardrobes of five male Stuart royals to reveal what clothing choices can tell us about kingship, character and Scottish identity in the 17th century.

WW2

The Crew: The Story of a Lancaster Bomber Crew
by David Price
(Head of Zeus, 448 pages, £25)



Life in the skies

From 1942–45, seven young men put their lives on the line flying over Hitler's Reich in an Avro Lancaster bomber. Drawing on testimony from the crew's bomb-aimer, Ken Cook, this book charts their experiences. While recognising the courage of those involved, David Price avoids romanticising his subjects, and doesn't shy away from the controversial strategy behind the Allied aerial bombing campaign.

FICTION

The Ninth Child
by Sally Magnusson
(Two Roads, 336 pages, £16.99)

Faery land

In this novel inspired by Scottish folklore, doctor's wife Isabel Aird is forced to leave a comfortable life in Glasgow and follow her husband to the remote Highlands. It's 1856, and as the vast gears of Victorian engineering churn, the wild landscapes she finds there are rapidly industrialising. But amid the modernity, older superstitions about local legend and the power of unseen forces begin to bubble over.

ITV PICTURES

ENCOUNTERS

DIARY: LISTEN / WATCH / VISIT

By **Jon Bauckham** and **Jonathan Wright**

Great expectations Harriet Walter, Ella Purnell and Tamsin Greig (left to right) star in Julian Fellowes' new drama series, which tells the story of two families whose lives are shaped by events dating back to the Napoleonic Wars

WATCH

Conflict and secrets

The blockbuster success of *Downton Abbey* means any new series from Julian Fellowes arrives with huge expectations, and that's certainly the case with *Belgravia*, adapted by the man himself from his own 2016 novel. As the title suggests, it's a drama set largely in one of London's most upmarket areas in the 1840s.

However, it's a story with its roots in events on the continent and, more specifically, the Duchess of Richmond's ball, which was held in Brussels in June 1815. This is a glittering occasion attended by, among others, the Duke of Wellington, but also a party that took place in the shadow of conflict – the night before the battle of Quatre Bras, which itself was a kind of prequel to Waterloo.

In Fellowes' fictional take on the ball, those in attendance include nouveau riche James and Anne Trenchard, whose daughter Sophia catches the eye of well-connected Edmund Bellasis, heir to a huge fortune. For both families, events at the ball will resonate down the years.

A strong cast includes Tamsin Greig, Philip Glenister, Harriet Walter, Alice Eve, Ella Purnell and James Fleet.

Belgravia
ITV / Scheduled for early spring

A Design for Life features a menagerie of zoological specimens, including this echidna skeleton

VISIT

Anatomical secrets

Scientists have long been fascinated by animal anatomy, dissecting all manner of creatures in a bid to understand the human body. Indeed, comparative anatomy was once seen as a key component of medical education, with Edinburgh's Royal College of Surgeons acquiring hundreds of zoological specimens for use in its teaching.

An exhibition at the college's museum delves into the story behind this field, featuring skeletons of armadillos, echidnas and even the extinct Tasmanian thylacine. It will be replaced on 4 April with A Model Education, a new display charting the history of artificial anatomical models.

A Design for Life

Surgeons' Hall Museums, Edinburgh / Until 22 March / *museum.rcsed.ac.uk*

A new series follows painstaking efforts to restore historic aircraft back to their former glory

WATCH

Chocks away!

Spitfire MJ772 is in bad shape following a crash landing that has ripped off a wing. Looking at the plane, it's difficult to imagine it could ever fly again. But that's not a view shared by the engineers at the Biggin Hill Heritage Hangar, one of several UK facilities that helps get vintage military aircraft back in the skies.

The Spitfire's restoration is among the case studies featured in new six-part TV series *Warbird Workshop*, which also includes projects involving a Douglas C-47 Skytrain troop carrier and a Spanish Civil War-era biplane.

Warbird Workshop

Yesterday / Scheduled for 5 March

LISTEN

The shadow of the bomb

Between 1952 and 1967, 22,000 servicemen, mostly conscripts, were present at nuclear tests. Few of those looking on through protective sunglasses had any choice over whether to be so close to such destructive power. What effect did this have on the men, both mentally and physically? And what effect did staying so long in a radiation zone have on the health of the children they fathered?

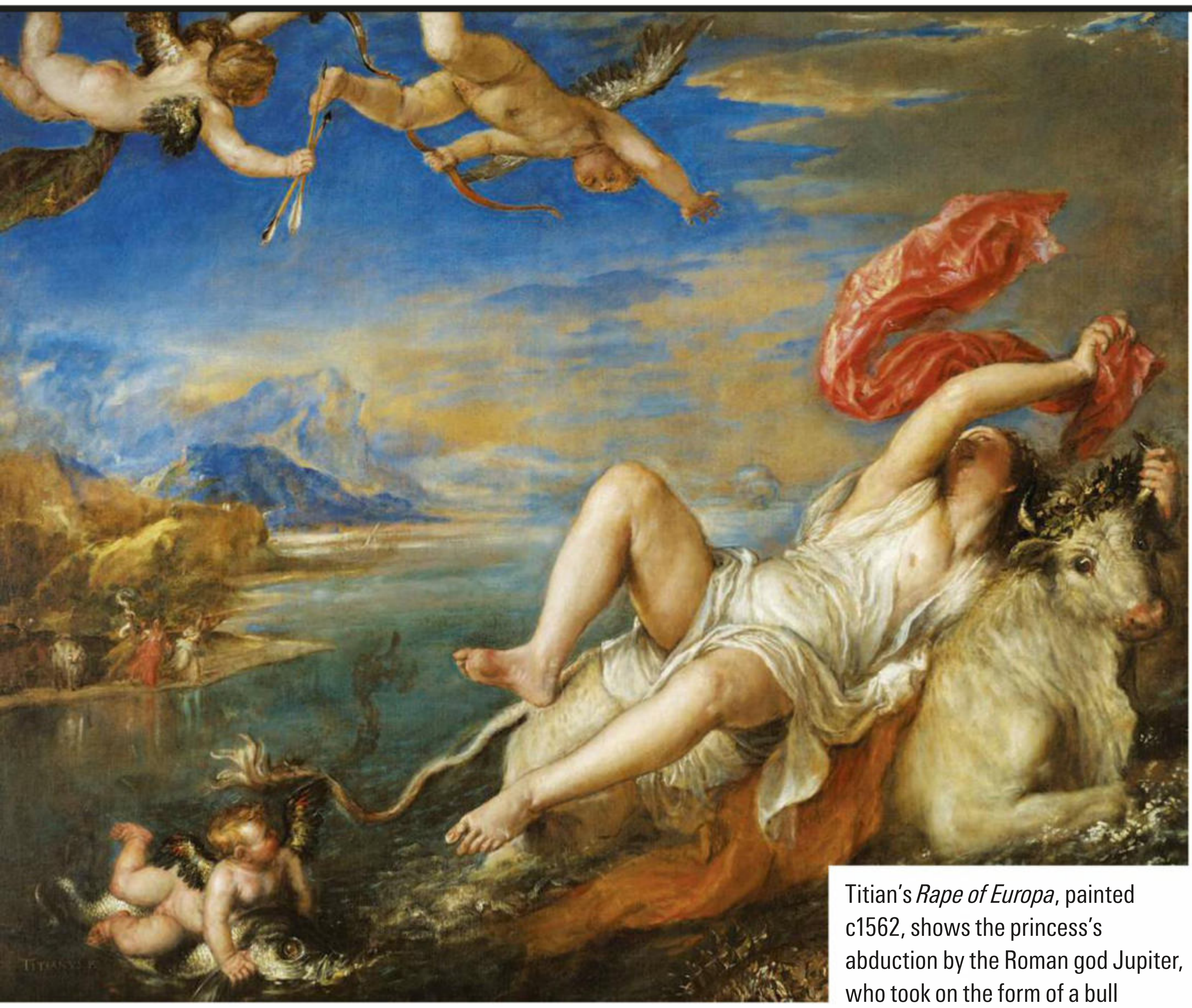
For the ever-excellent *Archive on 4* strand, playwright Gordon Murray shares his recordings of meetings with some of those stationed at Kiritimati – or Christmas Island – a Pacific atoll associated with tests conducted by both the UK and USA.

Archive on 4:
After the Fall Out

BBC Radio 4 / Scheduled for 14 March

WEEKLY TV & RADIO

Visit *historyextra.com* for weekly updates on upcoming TV and radio programmes



Titian's *Rape of Europa*, painted c1562, shows the princess's abduction by the Roman god Jupiter, who took on the form of a bull

VISIT

Myth master

The Venetian painter Titian (c1488–1576) is one of the most celebrated artists of the Italian Renaissance. Among his many masterpieces is the 'poesie' – a cycle of six mythological paintings inspired by the works of Ovid, which the artist considered to be the visual equivalent of poetry.

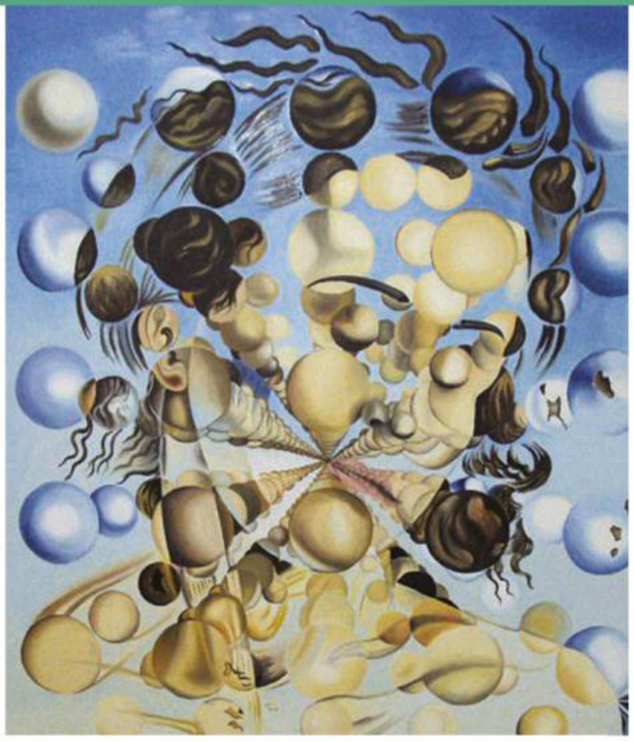
In March, London's National Gallery will be bringing all six paintings together for the first time in over four centuries, having successfully secured the loan of one of the cycle, *Perseus and Andromeda*, from the nearby Wallace Collection, which only very recently agreed to begin lending artworks to other galleries.

From a startling scene involving the Theban huntsman Actaeon, to a magical encounter between lovers Venus and Adonis, the 'poesie' demonstrates Titian's remarkable talents as both a painter and storyteller, and his uncanny ability to render human emotions ranging from euphoria to anguish.

Titian: Love, Desire, Death

National Gallery, London / 16 March – 14 June / *nationalgallery.org.uk/exhibitions*

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM/SURGEONS' HALL MUSEUM EDINBURGH/ YESTERDAY/ GETTY IMAGES



Salvador Dalí's *Galatea of the Spheres* (1952) presents a fantastical depiction of his wife and muse, Gala

WATCH

The look of things

We live in an age where we're surrounded by screens and adverts. Thanks to the ubiquity of cameraphones, humanity takes more photographs, it's been estimated, in two minutes than it did in the entire 19th century. But how did we come to be so obsessed with images? And where will this obsession take us?

These are questions that fascinate Cambridge art historian Dr James Fox, whose new four-part series looks for the roots of modern visual culture. Beginning with scientific breakthroughs of the early 20th century that irrevocably changed how we see the world, it also explores Salvador Dalí's surrealism, Harold Edgerton's freeze-frame photography and Buster Keaton's cinematic magic.

Via the advent of television, and the ways in which governments and businesses have sought to use imagery, Fox brings the story to the present day, when the photo sharing app Instagram enables everyone to share their pictures.

The series is part of a string of BBC shows on the visual arts this spring. Look out too for *The Art Mysteries* (BBC Four, scheduled for March), in which the former *Guardian* and *Sunday Times* art critic Waldemar Januszczak uncovers the meanings hidden within post-impressionist paintings, including Paul Cézanne's *Card Players*.

The Age of the Image
BBC Four / Scheduled for March

GETTY IMAGES/BRIDGEMAN/ALAMY/TOPFOTO

HISTORY ON THE AIRWAVES

"The idea that you can go west with nothing and make your fortune in California is rooted in the gold rush"

BBC radio producer **LAURENCE GRISSELL** (left) tells us about his new 10-part documentary series *The Californian Century*, which looks at how the influential west coast state has sought to reinvent the world in its own image

Your series tells the cultural story of California through 10 different people. Why did you take this approach?
I was interested in getting a sense of this trajectory from Hollywood to Silicon Valley, the dynamics and forces that have enabled those world-changing industries to emerge. The 10 characters take us through the last 100 years chronologically, but also thematically because in different ways they embody the kinds of values and forces that are at work in California.

How much of contemporary Californian culture can be traced back to its early history?
A huge amount, because its pioneering history is ever-present – the idea that you can go west with nothing and make your fortune arguably has its roots in the 1848 gold rush. Both Hollywood and Silicon Valley are just more recent iterations of that same kind of quest.

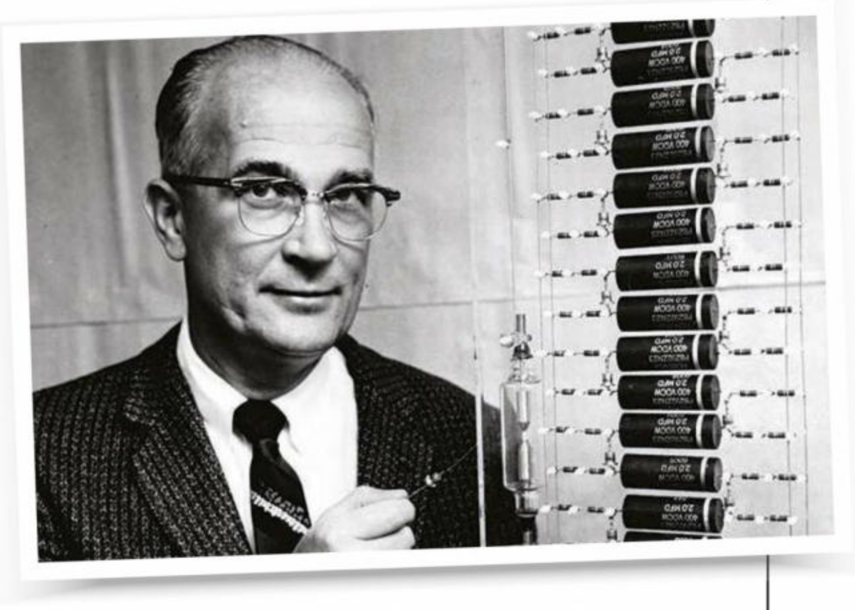
How did you select the individuals?
The idea was to find people who played a part in building California and have not necessarily been remembered, but embody some of the things that make California distinctive. We look, for example, at the transistor pioneer William Shockley (1910–89), who first brought silicon to Silicon Valley. He moved west because that was where the defence industry was taking off during the Cold War.

But what drew Shockley to Silicon Valley per se was that his mother lived there, so there's also an element of chance and luck in the founding of Silicon Valley. Shockley was a pretty awful guy by all accounts, and actually became an advocate of eugenics in the second half of his life.

Film director Francis Boggs, your first subject, has been largely written out of history. What can you tell us about him?
We don't really know much about Boggs (1870–1911), but he was interesting because, as far as we can establish, he was the first to pitch up in California with a camera and to film a whole movie. He met a tragic end – shot dead – which for me illustrates the lawlessness of California and the idea that you can go there with a dream, but that the dream can be cut short abruptly.

Is California still a dynamic place?
I interviewed Jerry Brown, California's longest-serving governor. He said that Californians have to embrace limits and can no longer exploit the landscape, which is the direct opposite of the past. His views are that growth – both in economic and population terms – should not necessarily be limitless. So for a state whose founding myth is based on migration, that's something of an existential question.

The Californian Century, narrated by actor Stanley Tucci, will be broadcast on BBC Radio 4 on weekdays from 24 February



An episode of *The Californian Century* focuses on the story of physicist and inventor William Shockley

HISTORY COOKBOOK

Bigos, Poland's national dish, may have begun life as a stew served up by wealthy hunters

TASTE

Bigos

No one knows for certain when bigos was invented, but early iterations of Poland's national dish can be found in cookbooks dating back to the 17th century.

The prevailing story, however, is that this comforting stew was first concocted by wealthy hunters, who would cook the results of their day's hunt with exotic spices. A similar tale can be found in Adam Mickiewicz's 1834 epic poem *Pan Tadeusz*, in which aristocrats enjoy a game dish of "wondrous taste, colour and marvellous smell".

Over time, a cheaper version of the stew dubbed 'rogue bigos' (replacing much of the meat with sauerkraut and fresh cabbage) became more popular than its predecessor, and eventually came to resemble the dish that Poles know and love today.

Difficulty: 2/10 **Time:** 2hrs 30min

INGREDIENTS

50g butter
1 onion, sliced
1 tsp juniper berries, crushed
½ tsp caraway seeds
300g lean pork belly, cubed
1 tbsp brown sugar
500g sauerkraut
Half a white cabbage, shredded
200g fresh chopped tomatoes
500ml chicken or beef stock
10g dried mushroom
300g smoked Polish sausage, such as kabanas, chopped
1 apple, grated
Flaked sea salt
Freshly ground black pepper

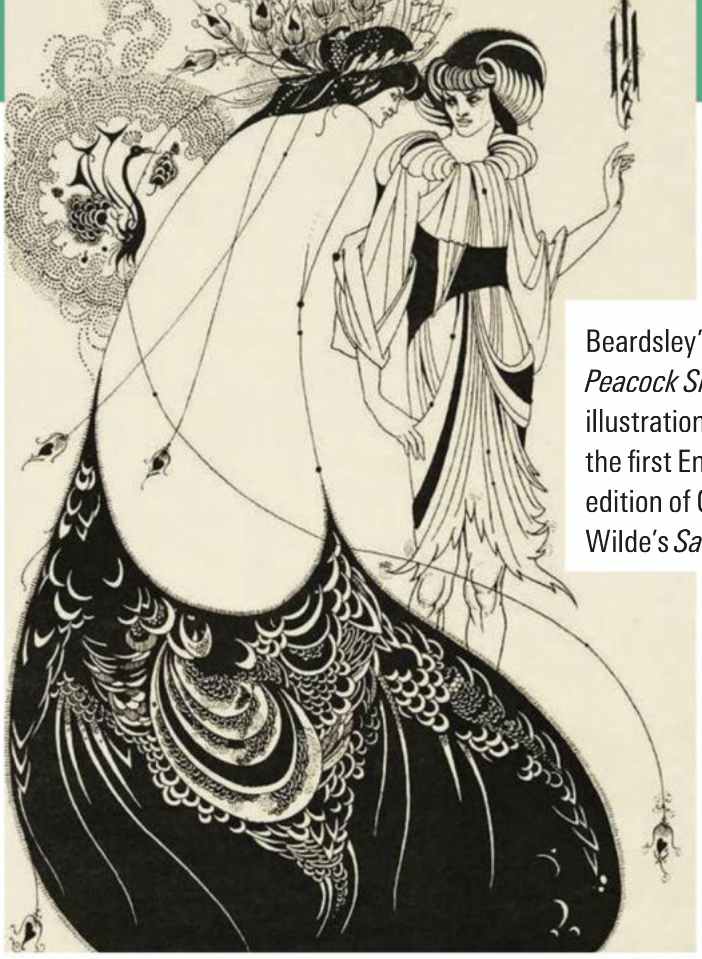
METHOD Melt the butter in a large flame-proof casserole dish. Add the onion and sauté over a medium heat until it is softened and translucent. Scatter the dish with the juniper berries and caraway seeds and add the pork on top. Sprinkle with brown sugar and put the heat on high for a couple of minutes, turning the meat so it browns well.

Next, drain the sauerkraut, giving it a rinse if you want to reduce the vinegar flavour (the easiest thing to do is squeeze it out with your hands). Add the sauerkraut to the casserole with the white cabbage and chopped tomatoes, then pour over the stock. Simmer for 30 minutes.

Soak the dried mushrooms in some warm water. When they have softened, drain, before adding their soaking liquor to the casserole. Chop the mushrooms and add to the casserole too, along with the sausage and apple.

Simmer the stew for a further hour-and-a-half and serve, or cover overnight and reheat the next day.

Recipe from hairybikers.com



Beardsley's *The Peacock Skirt*, an illustration from the first English edition of Oscar Wilde's *Salomé*

VISIT

A life cut too short

Despite his premature death from tuberculosis aged 25, Aubrey Beardsley enjoyed a brief period as one of England's most sought-after illustrators. Born in Brighton in 1872, Beardsley's distinctive ink drawings graced the pages of society periodicals such as *The Yellow Book* and *The Savoy*, and drew praise – as well as cries of outrage – for their highly eroticised and grotesque imagery.

A new retrospective at Tate Britain brings together more than 200 of the illustrator's drawings, along with examples of the Japanese woodcuts from which he drew inspiration. Also explored is Beardsley's friendship with Oscar Wilde, who commissioned the artist to produce illustrations for the first English edition of his French play, *Salomé*.

Aubrey Beardsley
Tate Britain, London / 4 March – 25 May / *tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/aubrey-beardsley*

LISTEN

Service demanded

In 1939, millions of British men became liable to be called up to serve in the armed forces. At a time when the country was in genuine danger, this was not surprising, yet National Service for 17 to 21-year-olds would continue until the 1960s.

As a new documentary recounts, peacetime conscription became the norm for more than 15 years. For some who served, this was a hugely liberating experience. For others, it engendered a sense of rebellion, and accidentally, it seems, fomented the revolutionary spirit of the 1960s.

NATIONAL SERVICE
It's up to you!
NATIONAL SERVICE
Offer yours to-day!

Archive on 4: National Service – The True Story
BBC Radio 4 / Scheduled for 7 March

ALAMY/AUDREY BEARDSLEY-TATE

WATCH

Danger down under

As with figures from the American wild west, Ned Kelly is an outlaw whose adventures have been endlessly mythologised. The reality, you would guess, is that Kelly's outback life was all too often a brutal affair. That's certainly the take of Australian director Justin Kurzel (*Snowtown*; *Macbeth*), whose new biopic takes Peter Carey's Booker-winning literary novel from 2000 as its starting point.

The Kelly in this reading, played as a young man by George MacKay of *1917* fame, is a damaged figure. That's in great part because of his hugely troubled relationship with his mother (played by Essie Davis), a woman who sells her son into a kind of crime-apprenticeship with bushranger Harry Power (a cameo from Russell Crowe that arguably ranks with his best work).

This is not to say familiar elements of the Kelly legend, most notably his armour-plated rebellion against British colonials, aren't present, but Kurzel never allows his audience to get comfortable. Rather, this is a brutal, fractured and hallucinatory piece of cinema – and quite brilliant.

True History of the Kelly Gang
Released 28 February / Cert: 18

Russell Crowe plays the role of Irish-born bushranger Harry Power, who served as a criminal mentor to the young Ned Kelly

VISIT

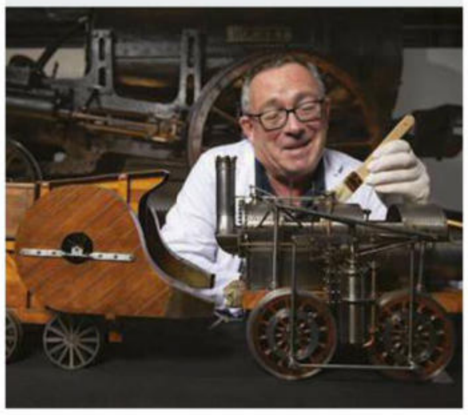
Until 13 April

Brass, Steel and Fire

LAST CHANCE TO SEE

Don't miss this display at the National Railway Museum, featuring miniature locomotives made by early rail enthusiasts. As well as these charming models, visitors can also see Stephenson's *Rocket*, now back in York after a long absence.

National Railway Museum, York / Free entry / *railwaymuseum.org.uk/whats-on*



The warrior's helmet was topped with a lattice-work crest

VISIT

Beyond the grave

In 2008, archaeologists unearthed the grave of an Iron Age warrior in the village of North Bersted, West Sussex. Believed to have been a Gallic refugee who fled Julius Caesar's army, the fighter's discovery caused something of a sensation, offering a brand-new insight into Britain on the eve of the Roman invasion.

After years of analysis and conservation, the warrior and his possessions are now on display at Chichester's Novium Museum, along with research exploring his life, health and death.

Mystery Warrior: The North Bersted Man
The Novium Museum, Chichester / Until 26 September / Free entry / *thenovium.org/mysterywarrior*

ALAMY/NATIONAL RAILWAY MUSEUM/ALLAN HUTCHINGS

Historic DAYS OUT

The Historic Dockyard Chatham

A visit to The Historic Dockyard Chatham – one of Britain's leading maritime heritage destinations – is a guaranteed adventure. Test your sea legs as you climb on board three historic warships, discover the Victorian ropewalk and check out the exciting programme of events and seasonal activities throughout the year.

thedockyard.co.uk // info@chdt.org.uk

Canterbury Cathedral

UNESCO world heritage site, seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and mother church of the worldwide anglican communion, Canterbury Cathedral is a must-visit destination. A site of medieval pilgrimage following Thomas Becket's murder in 1170, commemorated in this year's Becket 2020 events. Discover the new visitor centre and viewing gallery.

canterbury-cathedral.org // 01227 762862

Avington Park

A privately-owned stately home in Hampshire, described by William Cobbett as "one of the prettiest places in the County". The house is first mentioned in the Domesday Book with a fascinating history, playing host to Charles II and George IV. Open from 3rd May to 27th September - Sundays, Bank Holiday Mondays and Mondays in August.

01962779260 // avingtonpark.co.uk

Brockhole on Windermere & The Gaddum

Take a walk around our beautiful Thomas Mawson designed gardens and visit Brockhole House, built for William Henry Adolphus Gaddum by renowned architect Dan Gibson in 1897. While you explore, why not indulge in some of the Lake District's finest flavours in the Gaddum restaurant, named after the original family owners including Edith Gaddum, the cousin of Beatrix Potter.

015394 46601 // brockhole.co.uk

Royal Crown Derby

Take a look behind the scenes at Royal Crown Derby's Osmaston Road Factory, manufacturers of the world's finest tableware since 1750. See first-hand the skills that go in to making the exquisite Fine Bone China tableware, exported around the world to over 50 different countries, with clients including royal families and the world's finest hotels and restaurants.

royalcrownderby.co.uk // 01332 712833

Picton Castle & Gardens

Set in the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park and surrounded by a 40 acre RHS Partner Garden, Picton Castle originated in the 13th century, with a splendid Georgian wing added in the 1790s. A treasured family home for over 700 years, the elegant rooms feature opulent French furnishings, fireplaces and fine works of art including the controversial 'Picton Renoir'.

01437 751326 // pictoncastle.co.uk

With spring approaching, this is the best time to plan an adventure with all the historians in your life

Hylands Estate

Set within 574 acres of stunning parkland, Hylands House is an elegant Neo-Classical villa with a fascinating history. Chelmsford City Council purchased the entire estate in 1966 and the park has since been opened to the public. Hylands House is open to the public one Sunday a month with guided tours available, a different exhibition every time, free admission and parking.

01245 605500 // hylandsestate.co.uk

The Castle, Bude

This Grade II listed building is nestled in the sand dunes next to Summerleaze Beach running alongside Bude Canal. Our Heritage Centre houses artefacts and exhibitions bringing the rich local history to life. Three galleries hold over 30 exhibitions during the year and a stunning Café and conservatory offer idyllic views to relax in. Free entry, open daily from 10am.

01288 357300 // thecastlebude.org.uk

Allerton Castle

Allerton Castle is one of England's most picture-perfect Gothic revival stately homes; a beautifully preserved relic of the early modern aristocracy set within open parkland in the spectacular North Yorkshire countryside. A stunning venue for weddings, tours and events with total exclusivity, at no extra cost, as well as a dramatic TV and film location.

01423 330927 // allertoncastle.co.uk

Hever Castle & Gardens

Experience centuries of history at the childhood home of Anne Boleyn. The rooms of the double moated castle contain fine furniture, tapestries, antiques, a collection of Tudor paintings and two prayer books inscribed and signed by Anne Boleyn herself. Entry to the castle now includes a free interactive audio guide with commentary from historian Dr David Starkey.

hevercastle.co.uk // info@hevercastle.co.uk

Langar Hall Country House Hotel

Tucked away in the beautiful Vale of Belvoir, at the end of an avenue of lime trees, you will find the other world of Langar Hall. This charming apricot-washed Georgian home is now a bustling country house hotel & restaurant. Come for dinner, lunch, afternoon tea or a well deserved holiday from home.

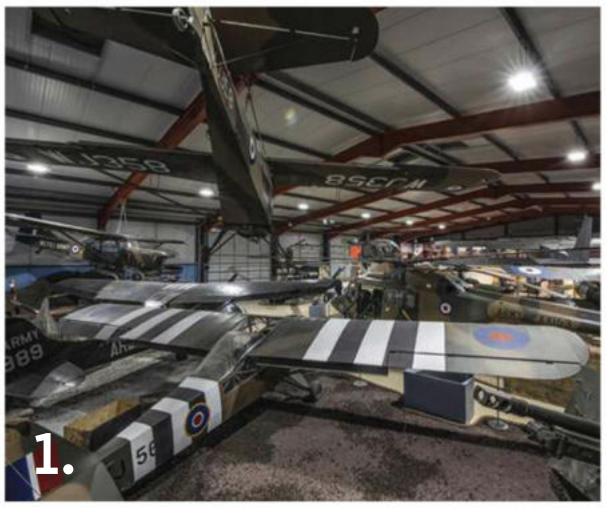
01949860559 // langarhall.co.uk // info@langarhall.co.uk

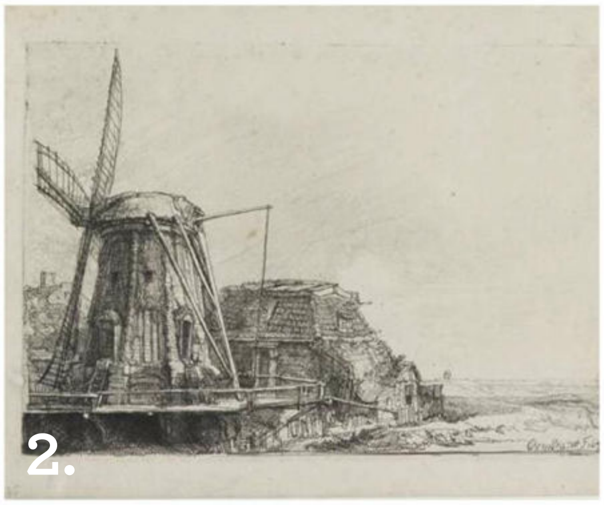
Gonville Hotel

Located directly opposite Parkers Piece, just a short walk from the Colleges and Greens of the historic city in Cambridge. The Gonville offers the opportunity of taking a complimentary ride in the Hotel's classic coach-built Bentleys. Guests can also take a bicycle to see the city under their own steam. The Gonville also offers two delicious dining options and wellness rooms.

01223 366611 // gonvillehotel.co.uk

Spring Heritage Collection

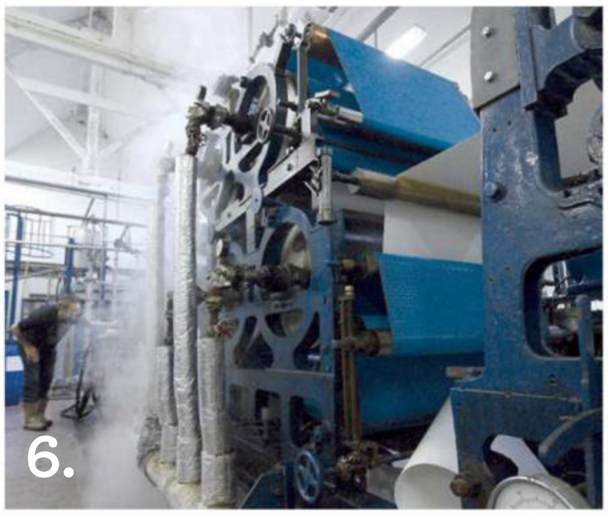

1.


2.

THE HOUSEHOLD Cavalry MUSEUM
3.

4.

5.


6.

7.

8.

9.

1. ARMY FLYING MUSEUM

Get up close and personal with the full history of Army aviation, from man-lifting kites to modern attack helicopters in a day out guaranteed to thrill the whole family.

armyflying.com | **01264 781086**

2. NORTH HERTFORDSHIRE MUSEUM

Don't miss the **Rembrandt in Print** exhibition, lent by the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, on until 19 April. North Hertfordshire Museum, Brand Street, Hitchin, SG5 1JE. Open Tuesday to Saturday 10.30am – 4.30pm, Sunday 11am – 3pm. Admission free.

northhertsmuseum.org | **01462 474554**

3. HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY MUSEUM

Look into the secret world of HM The Queen's mounted bodyguard through our Stable Gallery window and learn what it takes to protect the Monarch at home and abroad. Open daily.

householdcavalrymuseum.co.uk | **020 7930 3070**

4. THE DALES COUNTRYSIDE MUSEUM

Sharing stories of the people and places of the Yorkshire Dales. Changing exhibitions, events and demonstrations. Information, shop and café. Research facilities. Children visit free. Contact hawes@yorkshiredales.org.uk for more information.

dalescountrysidemuseum.org.uk | **01969666210**

5. ANAESTHESIA HERITAGE CENTRE

A unique medical science museum devoted to the history of anaesthesia, resuscitation and pain relief. The new exhibition Comfortably Numb explores regional and local anaesthesia. Discover the history and development of this technique, and how it's used for major surgery.

anaesthetists.org/Home/Heritage-centre

6. FROGMORE PAPER MILL

'A real hidden gem'. A unique visitor experience in the world's oldest mechanised paper mill, the birthplace of paper's industrial revolution. Learn about the history of paper, make your own sheet, see our 110 year old machine making paper.

thepapertrail.org.uk | **01442 234600**

7. BAMBURGH CASTLE

A stunning coastal fortress at the heart of an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Explore fourteen rooms, The Aviation Artefacts Museum, archaeology, cafeteria, grounds and battlements. Discover an amazing eclectic collection of 3500 items.

bamburghcastle.com | **01668 214515**

8. BUTSER ANCIENT FARM

A unique experimental archaeological site in the beautiful South Downs. Step inside reconstructed buildings from the Stone Age, Iron Age, Roman and Saxon periods and learn traditional skills with year-round workshops and events.

butserancientfarm.co.uk | **02392 598838**

9. NEWARK TOWN HALL MUSEUM & ART GALLERY

Fascinating architectural gem designed in 1774 by John Carr. A working Town Hall that also contains a museum within its beautiful Georgian rooms. Please contact by phone on 01636 680333.

newarktownhallmuseum.co.uk

Time for the **country.**

WAGSTAFF WATCHES

WAGSTAFF

At Wagstaff watches we make no nonsense precision timepieces for those who love the country.

A family business from Yorkshire producing watches in a fine tradition at sensible prices.

Wagstaff watches are proud to support country traditions and skills and a percentage of every sale goes to support country pursuits, skills apprenticeships and helps to keep the countryside thriving.

£95

www.wagstaffwatches.co.uk

FREE SHIPPING

wagstaffwatches · wagstaff_watches · wagstaffwatches

it's a gentlemen's watch
WAGSTAFF

Hidden History
Travel & Archaeology

Fascinating journeys into history, prehistory and the ancient world

Andorra & Occitania
Bulgaria: Old Europe
Makings of Asturias
Sicilian Civilisations

Living with the White Horse
Romney Marsh: Fifth Continent
East Anglia: Origins of England
Hellfire Corner: England's Front Line

Pompeii & Campania
Malta's Millennia
Minoan Crete & Santorini
Cyprus: North & South

Beautiful Locations · Small Groups · Expert Guides · Personal Service

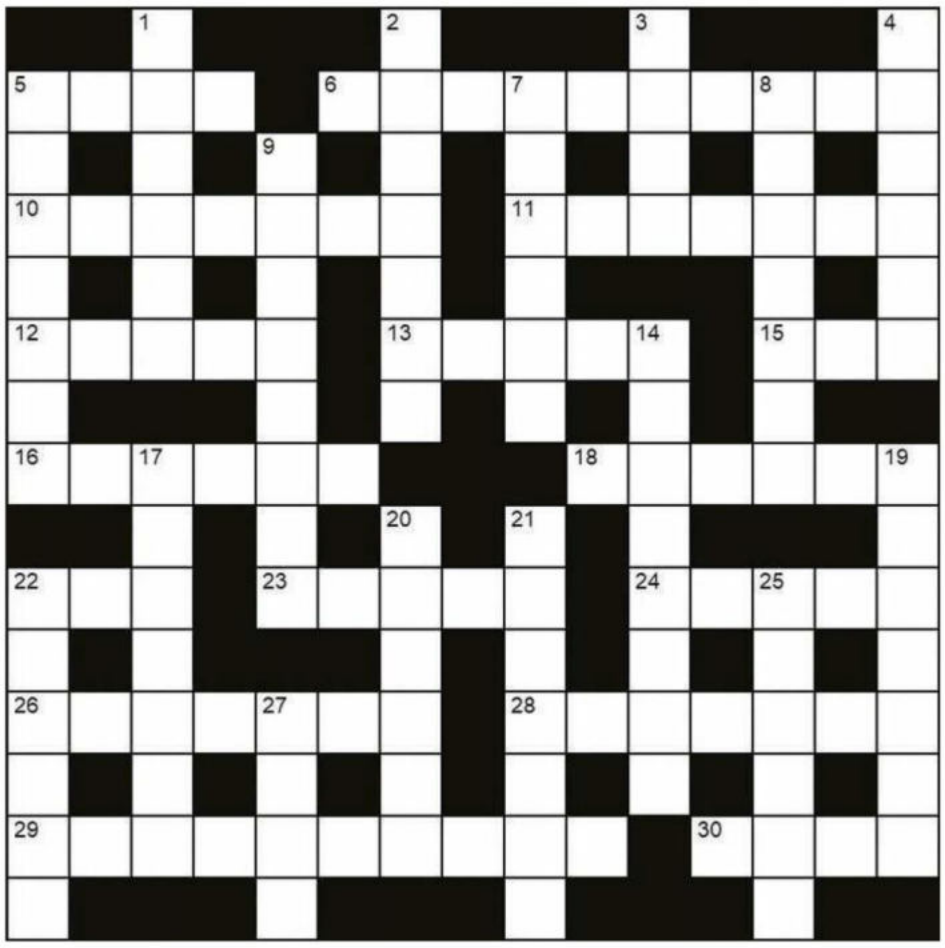
www.hiddenhistory.co.uk Tel (UK) 0121 444 1854

ATOL Protected and TTA Guaranteed

Travel Trust Association 100% Q2398 Financial Protection

Travel Trust Association Q2398

PRIZE CROSSWORD



Across

5 Violent ruffian: a term derived from a member of a gang of robbers and assassins that roamed India for several centuries (4)

6 Powerful female ruler of Egypt who died in 1458 BC, having attained the full titles and regalia of a pharaoh (10)

10 Stenka Razin was a ___ leader of a major uprising against the nobility and bureaucracy of southern Russia (1670–71) (7)

11 British family whose members include a Victorian prime minister and his grandson, an influential 20th-century philosopher (7)

12 The naval battle of ___ (August 1673) was the last engagement of the Third Anglo-Dutch War (5)

13 Characters of a Germanic writing system possibly derived from the Etruscan alphabet (5)

15 Last name of a writer celebrated for her Pulitzer prize-winning novel of 1960, about a child's awakening to racism in America's South (3)

16/7 Rachel Carson's 1962 non-fiction work, regarded as one of the most influential books in the environmental movement (6,6)

18 European name for Tarenorerer, female Aboriginal leader who, in 1828, formed a rebel guerrilla band against white colonists in Tasmania (6)

22 This British trade union (abbrev) lost a bitter battle with the Conservative government in the early 1980s (3)

23 The Stone of ___ was removed from Westminster Abbey in December 1950 and taken to Scotland by home-rule supporters (5)

24 Hardly anything is known about the author of this ancient Greek epic poem, one of the world's great literary works (5)

26 Sir Henry ____, US-born land and water speed record-breaker who died in June 1930 shortly after setting a record (7)

28 For example, European colonist of North America who learned indigenous methods of catching animals for furs and skins (7)

29 The sort of 19th-century Australian armed robber who was often the subject of romantic ballads (10)

30/8 Her gothic novel of 1818 introduced the best-known monster in literature, inspiring many film adaptations (4,7)

Down

1 Historic English county whose name comes from the Old English for 'South Saxons' (6)

2 The battle of ___, in July 1298, resulted in an English victory over William Wallace *(pictured right)* (7)

3 Hitler's deputy, imprisoned after flying to Britain privately in 1941 with the intention of negotiating a peace (4)

4 He presided over Britain's first full-term Labour government in 1945–51 (6)

5 Ancient Roman historian whose celebrated work, the *Annals*, covers the period from Augustus's death to Nero's reign (7)

7 See 16 across

8 See 30 across

9 Roman missionary who became the first bishop of York, canonised after his death in October AD 644 (8)

14 The medieval seat of the Serbian rulers (5,3)

17 Town in central France that was an important Roman centre and the one-time capital of the Lemovices, a Gallic tribe (7)

19 The name of the Soviet force founded by Leon Trotsky after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 (3,4)

20 Family name of the woman whose controversial marriage to the king was a key factor in the English Reformation (6)

21 Derek ___, controversially hanged in 1953 for the murder of a policeman at a Croydon warehouse; the conviction was quashed in 1998 (7)

22 Northamptonshire village near the site of a decisive battle of the Civil War that took place in June 1645 (6)

25 City in north-eastern India, site of an important victory of Anglo-Indian forces over the Japanese in 1944 (6)

27 Mediterranean seaport of Israel, which withstood a siege by Napoleon in 1799 (4)

Compiled by **Eddie James**

JANICE HADLOW
The Other Bennet Sister

Book worth **£14.99** for **6 winners**

The Other Bennet Sister

By Janice Hadlow

Plain, awkward and bookish, Mary Bennet is one of the most overlooked characters in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice.* But this witty and uplifting novel from Janice Hadlow, published by Mantle, reveals another side to Mary. It invents a new story for its unusual heroine, as she struggles to forge her own path in the unforgiving world of Georgian high society.

HOW TO ENTER

● Open to residents of the UK (inc Channel Islands). Post entries to ***BBC History Magazine*, March 2020 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester LE94 0AA** or email them to ***march2020@historycomps.co.uk*** by 5pm on **18 March 2020**. ● Entrants must supply full name, address and phone number. The winners will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. Winners' names will appear in the May 2020 issue. By entering, participants agree to be bound by the terms and conditions shown in full in the box below. Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) will use personal details in accordance with the Immediate Privacy Policy at *immediatemedia.co.uk/privacy-policy/privacy/* ● Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) would love to send you newsletters, together with special offers and other promotions. If you would not like to receive these, please write 'NO INFO' on your entry. ● Branded BBC titles are licensed from or published jointly with BBC Studios (the commercial arm of the BBC). Please tick here ☐ if you'd like to receive regular newsletters, special offers and promotions from BBC Studios by email. Your information will be handled in accordance with the BBC Studios privacy policy: *bbcstudios.com/privacy. – bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidance/code-of-conduct*

Solution to our January 2020 crossword

Across: 91 Homage 4 Chatham 9 Worcester 10 Gaius 11 Trent 12 Townshend 13 Escheat 15 Drogo 18 Pala 19 Epicurus 23 Terra Nova 25 Aksum 27 Botha 28 Grand Tour 29 Scotsman 30 India

Down: 1 Howitzer 2 Marne 3 Great Seal 4 Carew 5 Argus 6 Heidegger 7 Masada 8 Statute 14 Caporetto 16 Richard II 17 Apparat 20 Samaria 21 Stubbs 22 Borgia 24 AWACS 26 Sword

Ten winners of *Vox Populi* by Peter Jones

HJ Shute, Derbyshire; S Allen, London; A Grigg, Surrey; P Spinks, Warwickshire; N Jones, Somerset; R Tincknell, London; D Bateson, Gloucestershire; I Barford, Flintshire; E Turner, London; C Brown, Leicestershire

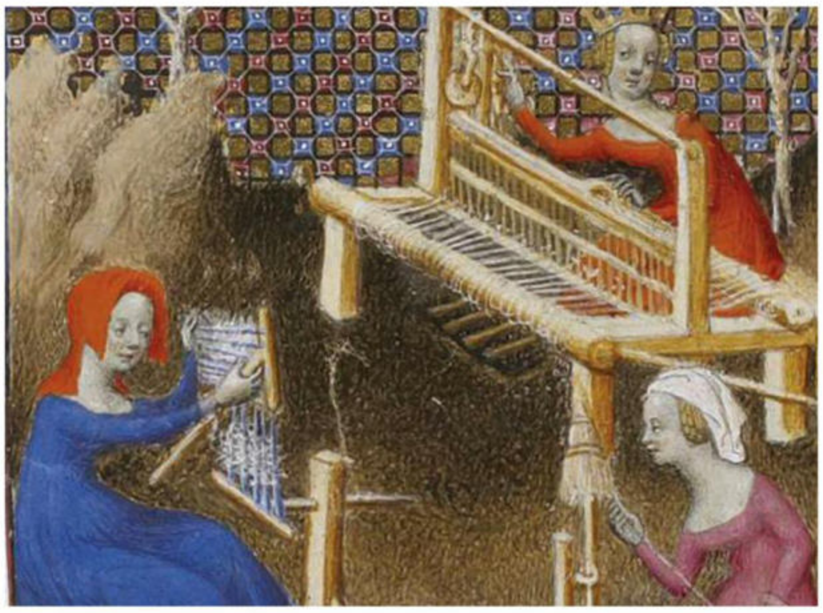
CROSSWORD COMPETITION TERMS & CONDITIONS

● The crossword competition is open to all residents of the UK (inc Channel Islands), aged 18 or over, except Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited employees or contractors, and anyone connected with the competition or their direct family members. By entering, participants agree to be bound by these terms and conditions and that their name and county may be released if they win. Only one entry permitted per person. ● The closing date and time is as shown under How to Enter, above. Entries received after that will not be considered. Entries cannot be returned. Entrants must supply full name, address and daytime phone number. Immediate Media Company (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) will not publish your personal details or provide them to anyone without permission. Read more about the Immediate Privacy Policy at *immediatemedia.co.uk/privacy policy/* ● The winning entrants will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. The prize and number of winners will be as shown on the Crossword page. There is no cash alternative and the prize will not be transferable. Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited's decision is final and no correspondence relating to the competition will be entered into. The winners will be notified by post within 20 days of the close of the competition. The name and county of residence of the winners will be published in the magazine within two months of the closing date. If the winner is unable to be contacted within one month of the closing date, Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited reserves the right to offer the prize to a runner up. ● Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited reserves the right to amend these terms and conditions, or to cancel, alter or amend the promotion at any stage, if deemed necessary in its opinion, or if circumstances arise outside of its control. The promotion is subject to the laws of England.

GETTY IMAGES

MORE FROM US

A selection of the exciting content on our website **historyextra.com**



Medieval misconceptions: 12 myths about life in the Middle Ages – busted

Did everyone die young in medieval times? And were medieval people really as dirty as we think? Hannah Skoda, one of the speakers at our upcoming events in London and York, shares a dozen little-known facts about the Middle Ages.
historyextra.com/medievalmyths

The real Vikings

The exploits of Norse warrior Ragnar Lothbrok and his kin in hit TV drama *Vikings* have brought fresh interest to the myths and figures of the early medieval world. Howard Williams explores how the show has tackled historical issues of the Viking era.
historyextra.com/vikingshistory

Operation Alberich: A 1917 retreat

Operation Alberich occupies a minor place in histories of the First World War. Yet the retreat, featured in Sam Mendes's film *1917*, marked an important phase in the conflict and revealed how much had changed since 1914.
historyextra.com/operationalberich

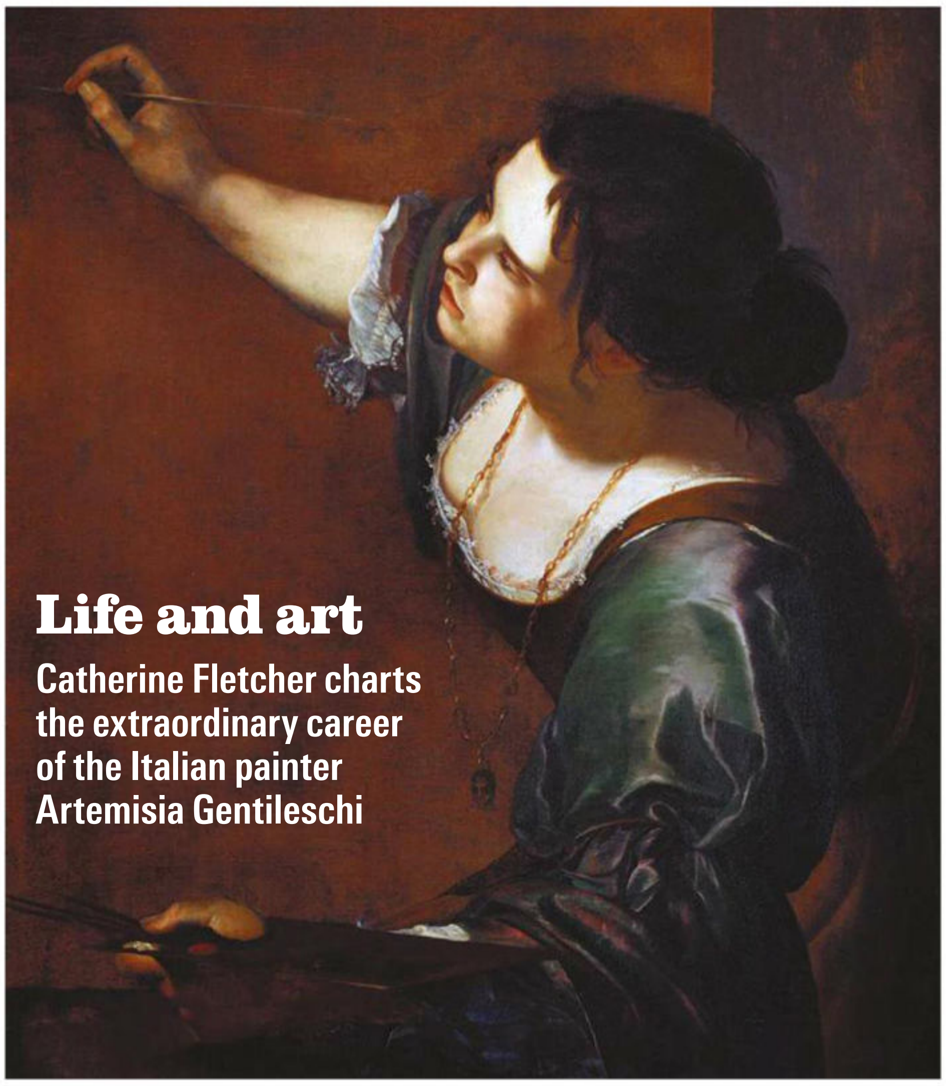
A brief history of clerical celibacy

As a debate takes place about married men becoming priests, and with the Church of England calling for Christians in civil unions to practise abstinence, Emma J Wells explores celibacy in the Christian church.
historyextra.com/celibacyhistory

GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY/IWM (Q57506)

NEXT MONTH

April issue on sale 19 March 2020



Life and art

Catherine Fletcher charts the extraordinary career of the Italian painter Artemisia Gentileschi

Cromwell concludes

Tracy Borman reviews the long-awaited final instalment of Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* trilogy

Okinawa and the bomb

Saul David on a hellish battle of the Pacific War that influenced the US decision to use nuclear weapons

The real Bond

Henry Hemming on the spies who helped inspire Ian Fleming's famous creation

*BBC broadcaster **Emma Barnett** chooses*

Sylvia Pankhurst

1882–1960

Emma Barnett presents *The Emma Barnett Show* on Radio 5 Live and *Newsnight* on BBC Two, and recently published a book on women's health called *Period: It's About Bloody Time* (HQ, 2019)

Sylvia Pankhurst is taken into custody by police officers during a women's suffrage protest in Trafalgar Square, London

IN PROFILE

Born in Manchester, Sylvia Pankhurst trained as an artist but became an activist for women's suffrage alongside her mother, Emmeline, and sister Christabel. She was force-fed repeatedly in prison after going on hunger strike. A pacifist, she diverged from her family during the First World War because of their support for the British effort. After the war, she helped found the British Communist party, and supported Ethiopian independence after the Italians invaded in 1935. She lived in the African nation from 1956 until her death.

When did you first hear about Pankhurst? I've always known her name, as I went to the same school as her and her sisters. Much was made of the suffragette girls being part of our school heritage in Manchester. But I didn't know very much about Sylvia and her work until I went to a show a few years ago featuring her beautiful drawings and paintings. Understandably, history tends to focus more on her mother, the suffragette leader Emmeline Pankhurst.

What kind of person was she? The Pankhurst women were trailblazers in fighting for women to have a voice. But Sylvia took her fight in a different direction, leading her to go against her mother's wishes (no mean feat if your mother is Emmeline Pankhurst). In her early twenties, she set off on a tour of northern England and Scotland to document the lives of female workers. She wanted to get up close and personal with the grim circumstances women found themselves in. Her ambitious trip in the summer of 1907 took her to potteries, fisheries, chain-makers, pit brows and farms.

Frustrated with her mother and elder sister's bourgeois focus, Sylvia wanted to find out how the working women of Britain were being treated alongside male labourers. The answer? Terribly. As her drawings and notes attest, conditions for most workers back then were appalling, regardless of gender, but for women things were particularly bad.

She never followed a set path and ended her life in Ethiopia, having agitated on behalf of the country. I am proud to call her granddaughter, Dr Helen Pankhurst – a formidable campaigner for women's rights in the developing world – a good friend. She is herself based in Ethiopia, following unexpected paths on behalf of women in need.

What made her a hero? She looked to the poorest in society for their truth and tried to tell their story when no one else really was. What Sylvia witnessed was the harshest side of life and she didn't shy away from it, dedicating her energies to working women and to securing their rights.

Sylvia had a meticulous eye for detail, recording how these women's days played out – often with them working a double shift, labouring as hard at home as in the factories, preparing everyone's food and clothing. The stories she uncovered were heartbreaking. She gave the voiceless a voice that has transcended the decades.

Can you see any parallels between her life and your own?
I would never dare compare myself. But I gain inspiration from people who don't take the world at face value, who push for answers and don't shy away from posing difficult questions. Sylvia and her quest for information personifies that curious and furious combination.

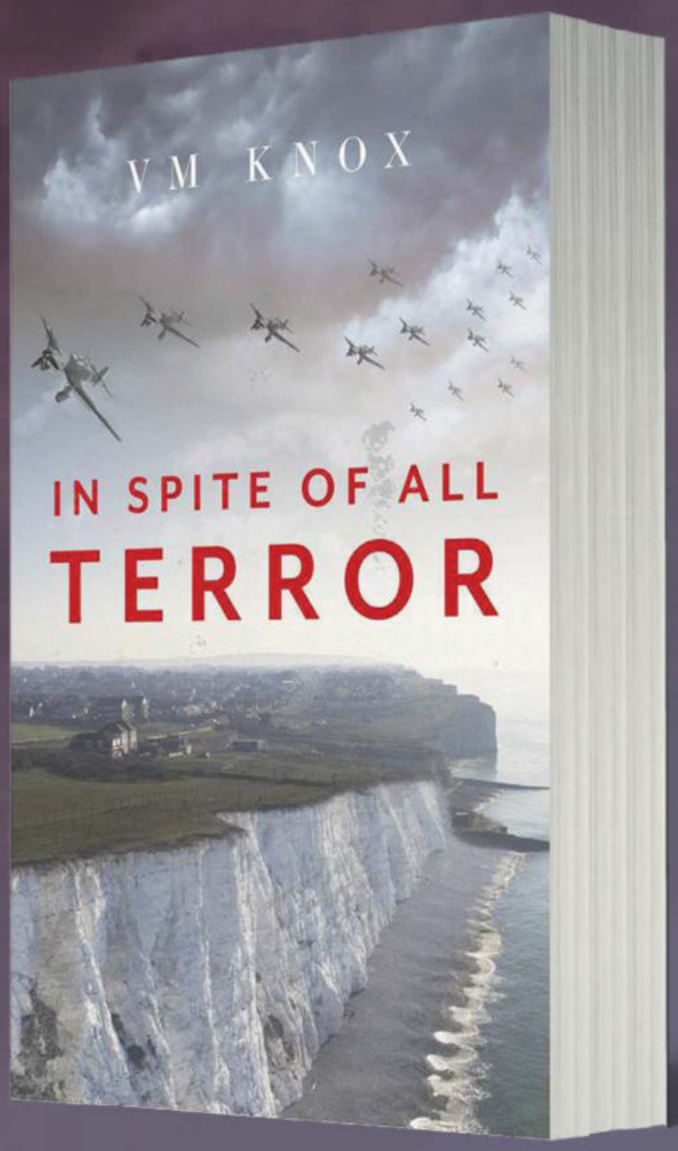
> " Sylvia looked to the poorest in society for their truth and tried to tell their story when no one else really was "

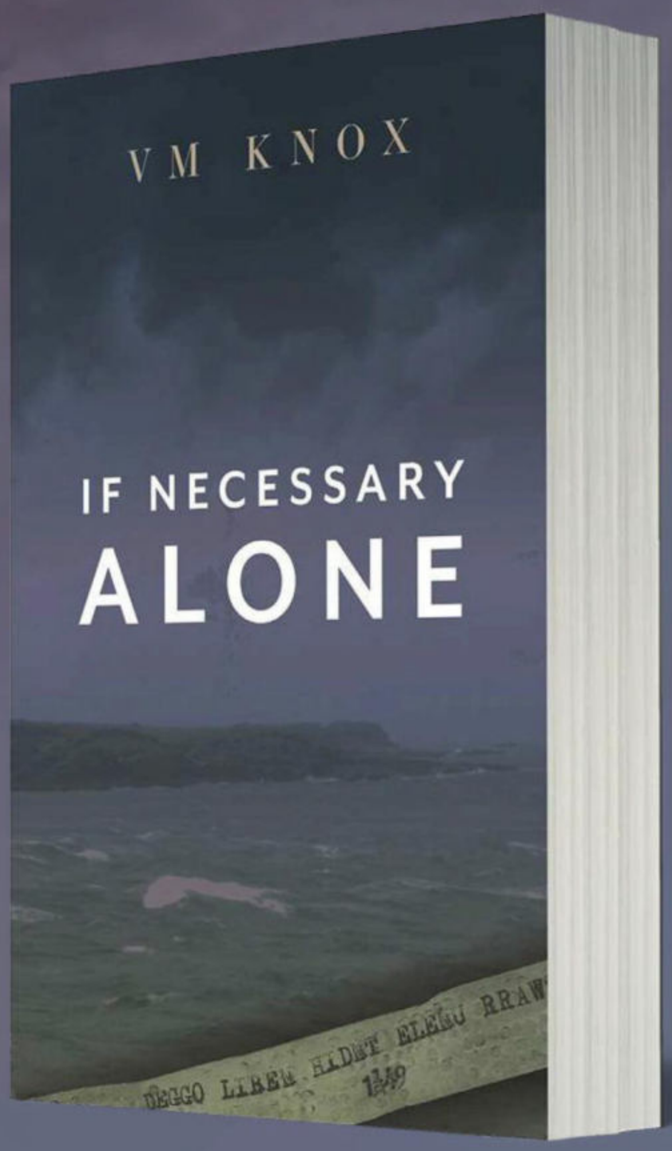
LISTEN AGAIN

Barbara Castle selected Sylvia Pankhurst in an episode of Radio 4's **Great Lives**: *bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0076433*

GETTY IMAGES/ROB SHIRET

Deception, Conspiracy, Murder and Embedded Nazi Spies





In Spite of All Terror is the first in a series of crime thrillers by V M Knox that mix historical fact, crime fiction and superb characterisations. Set in September 1940, when Britain stood alone against an imminent Nazi invasion, Reverend Clement Wisdom and other men from the restricted occupations, were called to join the covert Auxiliary Units. Based in East Sussex, these ordinary men by day will become saboteurs and assassins by night. Following the murders of several of Clement's team, he finds himself embroiled in the murky world of espionage where things are never what they seem.

"Fantastic read, kept me enthralled to the last page." Janet Laurence, Former Chair, British Crime Writers' Association.

If Necessary, Alone is the second thriller in the series. Clement Wisdom, now a Major in Special Duties Branch, Secret Intelligence Service, is sent to remote Caithness to investigate illicit encrypted radio transmissions. But as soon as he arrives there, an out-station wireless operator is found brutally murdered and Clement becomes entangled in a web of death and silence. Alone, and in the bitter Scottish winter, Clement must stay one step ahead of a killer if he is to remain alive.

The third book in the series is coming soon.

"A thriller full of tension, treachery and twists. You won't put it down." Janet Laurence, Former Chair, British Crime Writers' Association.

Out now in paperback and ebook, and available from online booksellers, independent book shops and Waterstones.

The ISLANDS of
GUERNSEY

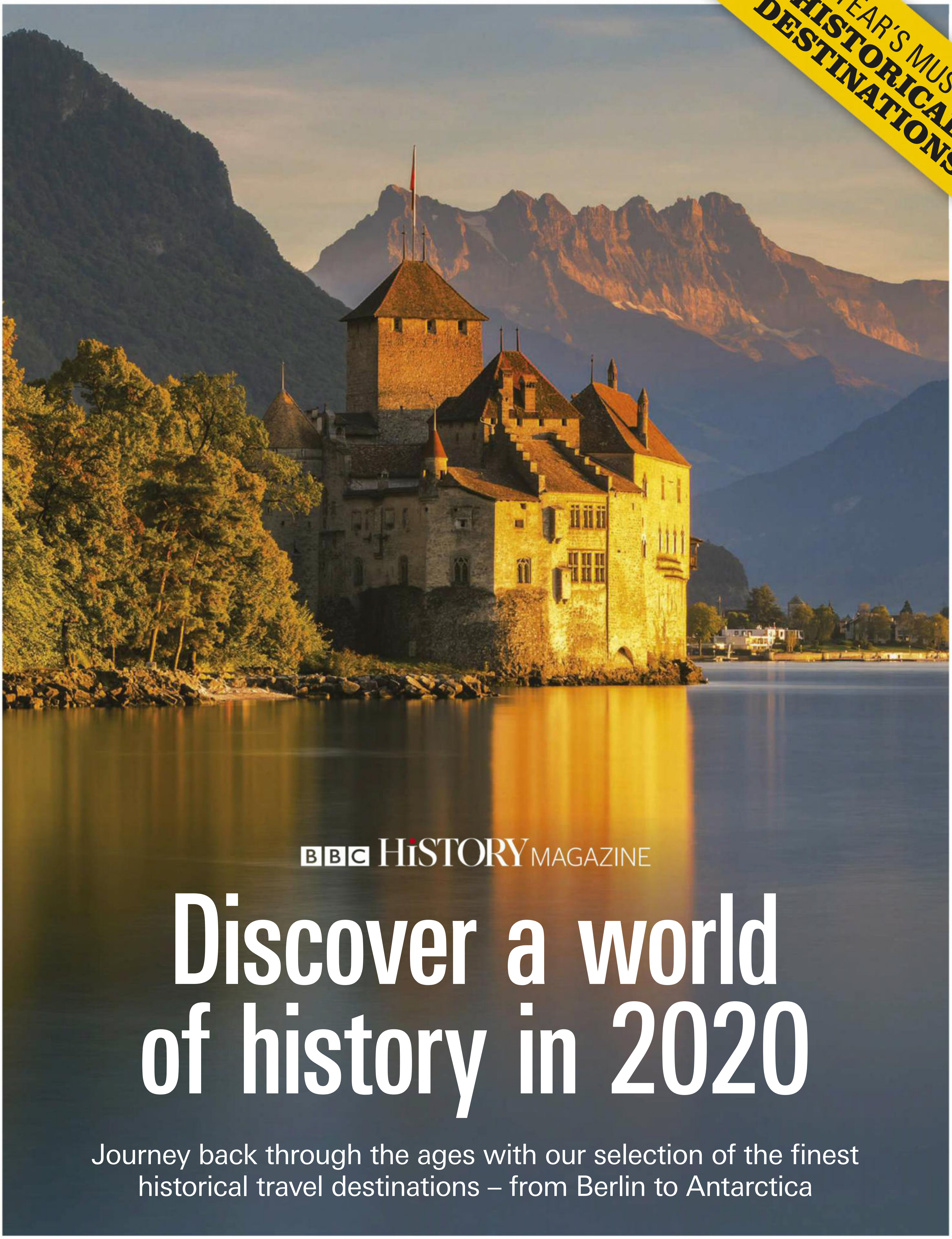
DIVE INTO OUR HISTORY

On 9 May 2020, we celebrate 75 years since the Islands' Liberation at the end of World War II. To commemorate, 75 unique heritage-themed events are taking place between April and October. So, while it is always a good year to visit the Islands, this one will be a particularly special one.

Discover
#ThatIslandFeeling
visitguernsey.com/heritage75

CELEBRATING
1945 75 2020
YEARS
OF LIBERATION

THIS YEAR'S MUST-SEE **HISTORICAL DESTINATIONS**



BBC HiSTORY MAGAZINE

Discover a world of history in 2020

Journey back through the ages with our selection of the finest historical travel destinations – from Berlin to Antarctica

ALAMY

BUSHTRACKS
BY PRIVATE AIR

Incredible Africa

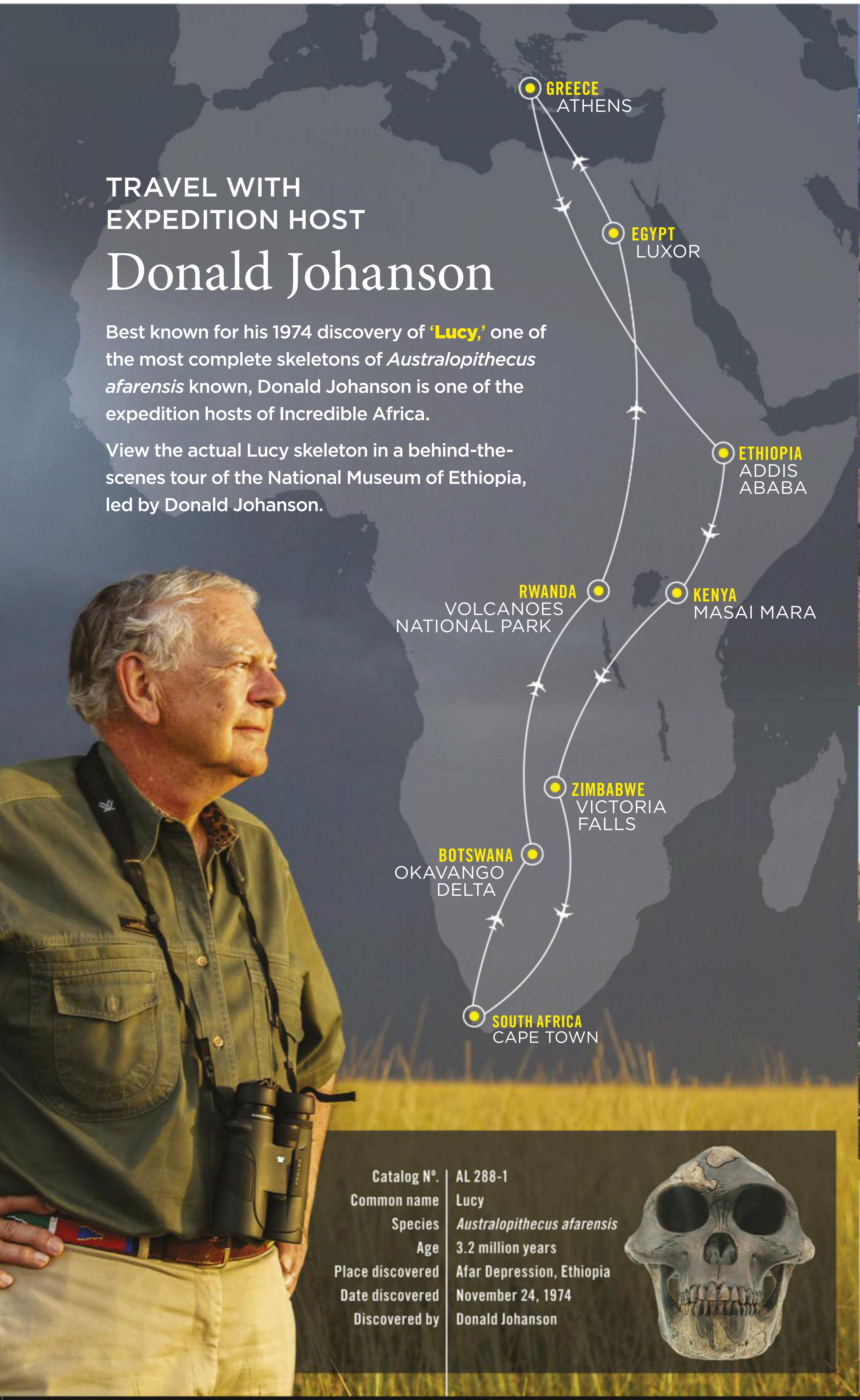
A PRIVATE JET EXPEDITION

46 GUESTS | **22** DAYS | **8** COUNTRIES

SEPTEMBER 4-25 | 2020

- ✈ Travel business-class in comfort and security on a privately chartered Boeing 737-400 jet
- ✈ Visit 5 UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Acropolis in Greece, Ethiopia's subterranean churches, Victoria Falls, Botswana's Okavango Delta and the ancient necropolis of Thebes in Luxor, Egypt
- ✈ Marvel at the wildebeest migration in Kenya's Masai Mara, track gorillas in Rwanda, and see penguins, seals and whales in Cape Town
- ✈ Led by Bushtracks' founder David Tett, Craig Sholley (Senior VP, African Wildlife Foundation), naturalist Lisa Stevens and famous paleoanthropologist Donald Johanson

GREECE	ETHIOPIA	KENYA	ZIMBABWE	SOUTH AFRICA	BOTSWANA	RWANDA	EGYPT
ATHENS	ADDIS ABABA	MASAI MARA	VICTORIA FALLS	CAPE TOWN	OKAVANGO DELTA	VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK	LUXOR


GREECE
ATHENS
EGYPT
LUXOR
ETHIOPIA
ADDIS ABABA
RWANDA
VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK
KENYA
MASAI MARA
ZIMBABWE
VICTORIA FALLS
BOTSWANA
OKAVANGO DELTA
SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN

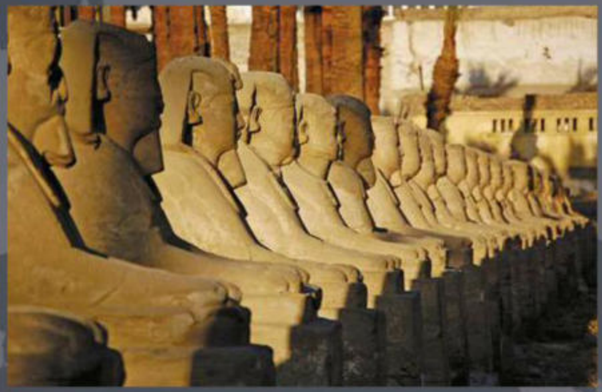
TRAVEL WITH EXPEDITION HOST

Donald Johanson

Best known for his 1974 discovery of **'Lucy,'** one of the most complete skeletons of *Australopithecus afarensis* known, Donald Johanson is one of the expedition hosts of Incredible Africa.

View the actual Lucy skeleton in a behind-the-scenes tour of the National Museum of Ethiopia, led by Donald Johanson.

Catalog N°.	AL 288-1
Common name	Lucy
Species	*Australopithecus afarensis*
Age	3.2 million years
Place discovered	Afar Depression, Ethiopia
Date discovered	November 24, 1974
Discovered by	Donald Johanson



EARLY BOOKING book by Mar. 15, 2020 and earn a **$4,000 CREDIT** per person

Learn more at: **bushtracks.com/by-private-air**

For a **BROCHURE**, email us at **info@bushtracks.com**

WE COVER THE ANGLES ON OUR AMERICAN TOURS.

Our tours dedicated to American art and architecture feature lesser known masterpieces as well as the most celebrated works and buildings. With private views and after-hours visits our expert lecturers build a vivid picture of the way America sees itself.

'Beyond my expectations. Could never have done the private house visits by myself.'

Best Special Interest Holiday Company at the British Travel Awards: 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018 & 2019.

Contact us:
+44 (0)20 8742 3355
martinrandall.com

ATOL 3622 | ABTA Y6050 | AITO 5085

MARTIN
RANDALL
TRAVEL
LEADING EXPERTS IN CULTURAL TOURS

KIRKER MUSIC HOLIDAYS

FOR DISCERNING TRAVELLERS

Kirker Holidays offers an extensive range of holidays for music lovers. These include tours to leading festivals in Europe such as the Schubertiade and the Puccini Opera Festival, and opera weekends in Verona, Venice, Milan, Dresden, Vienna & New York.

THE METROPOLITAN OPERA & ART GALLERIES OF NEW YORK

FIVE NIGHT HOLIDAYS | 18 NOVEMBER 2019, 30 MARCH & 28 APRIL 2020

Enjoy three star-studded performances at the Metropolitan Opera including Ailyn Pérez, Plácido Domingo and Sonya Yoncheva as well as a backstage tour of the Met and visits to key museums.

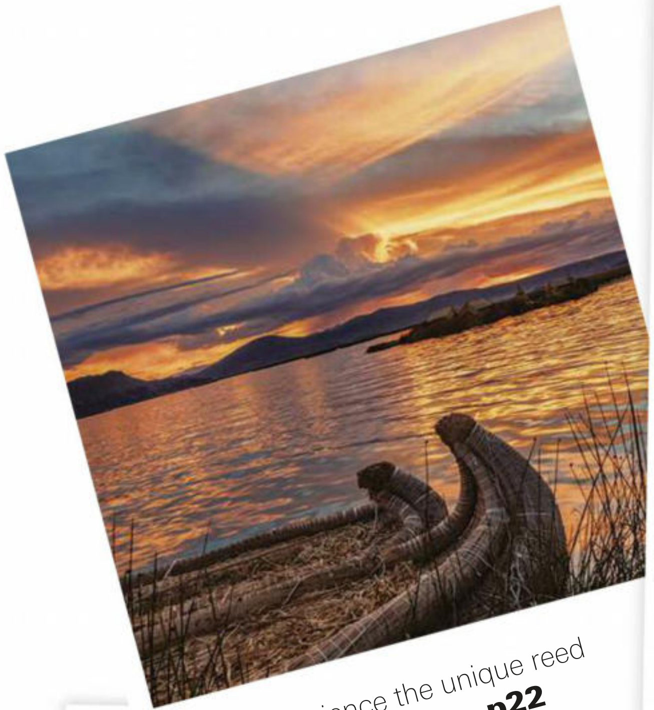
In addition to the opera we will visit museums and galleries including the Metropolitan, the MoMA, where we enjoy a private visit before the crowds arrive. We will also see one of the world's finest private collections of art at the Frick and at the Morgan Library and Museum we see the ever-changing exhibitions of the Morgan's stunning collections of art, manuscripts and letters. We stay at the Hotel Empire (4★), located just across the street from the Lincoln Center, and a couple of minutes' walk from the Met. A visit to the wonderful Botanical Garden in the Bronx is also included in our April tour.

Prices include return flights, five nights' accommodation on a room only basis, three tickets in the rear stalls with uninterrupted views of the stage, two dinners (including one at the Met's Grand Tier), all transfers, entrance fees and gratuities and the services of the Kirker Tour Leader.

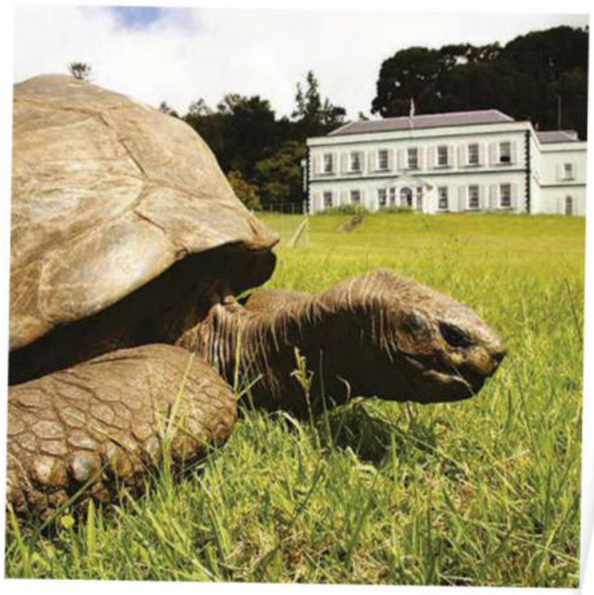
Speak to an expert or request a brochure:

020 7593 2284 quote code GMU
www.kirkerholidays.com

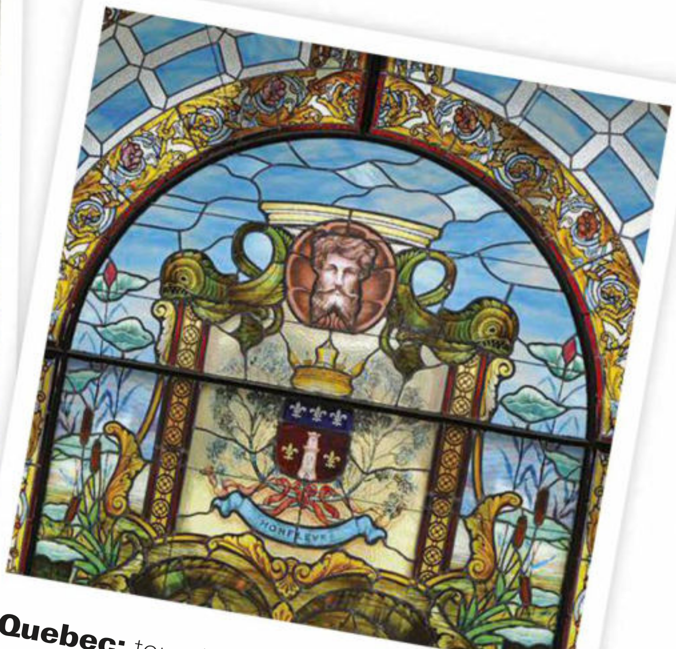
Kirker
FOR DISCERNING TRAVELLERS



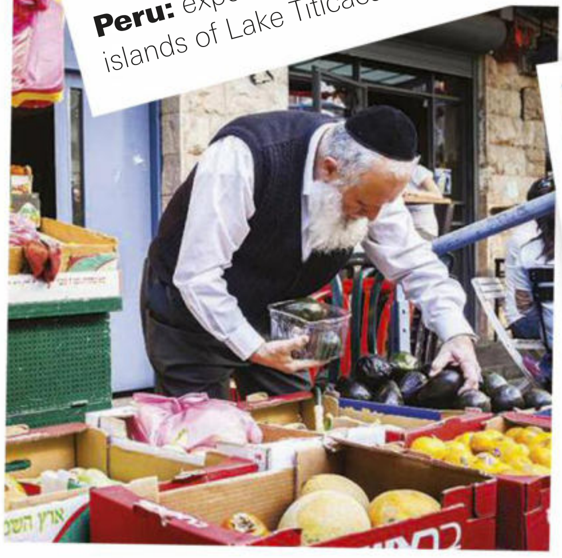
Peru: experience the unique reed islands of Lake Titicaca – **p22**



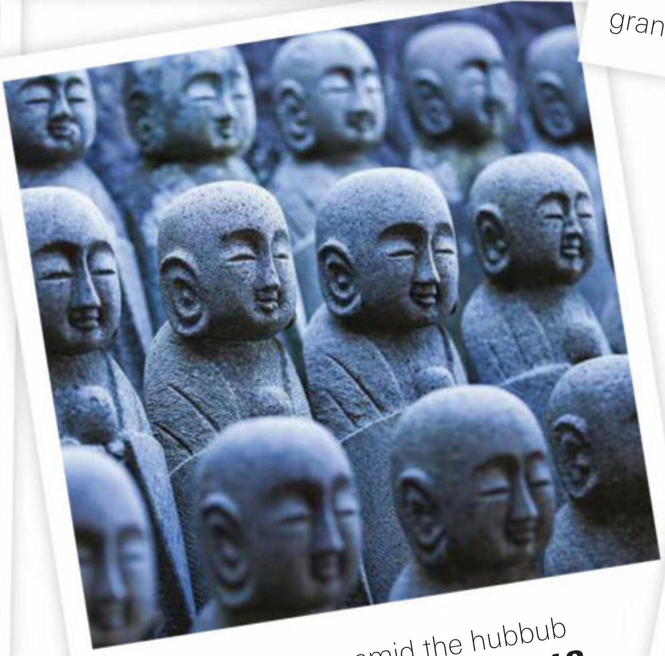
St Helena: Meet Jonathan, a giant tortoise reputedly almost 190 years old – **p13**



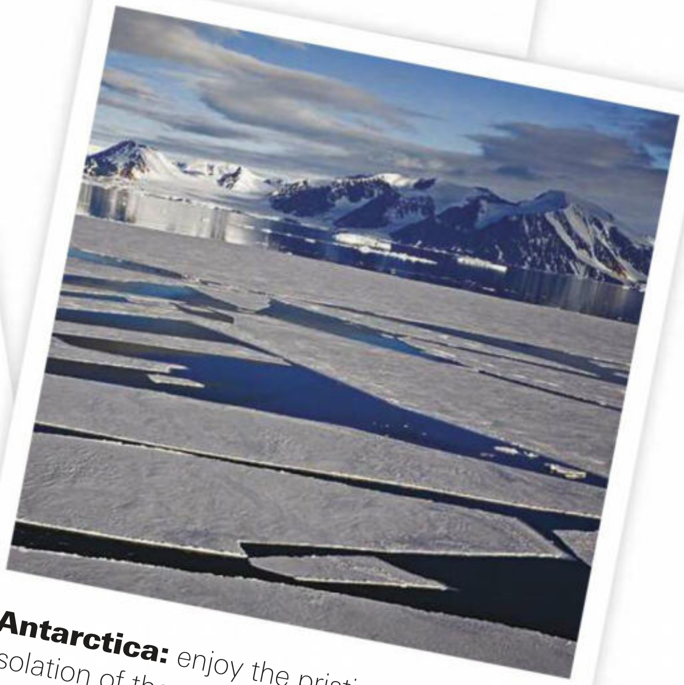
Quebec: tour the historic capital's grandiose Hôtel du Parlement – **p6**



Israel: hunt for bargains at Jerusalem's famed Mahane Yehuda Market – **p20**



Japan: find peace amid the hubbub in historic temples and gardens – **p18**



Antarctica: enjoy the pristine beauty and isolation of the great white continent – **p21**

WELCOME

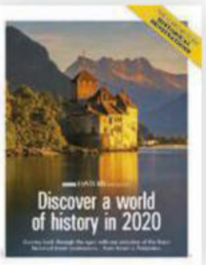
"As winter starts receding, I'm sure some of you will be thinking about your 2020 travel plans. In case you're looking for inspiration, we've teamed up with Lonely Planet's editorial director, Tom Hall, to highlight this year's best history destinations.

His selections take us across the globe, from Alpine heritage in Switzerland, to colonial architecture in Kolkata, Japan's blend of ancient and modern, and Napoleon's remote island prison, St Helena. Plus, if you're feeling bold, then you might want to take up his suggestion and visit the frozen continent of Antarctica, 200 years after it was first sighted.

I hope that you enjoy this supplement and any historical adventures that may spring from it.

Rob Attar
Editor

AWL IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY



COVER IMAGE SHOWS: The mighty Chillon Castle, a medieval stronghold built on an island on Switzerland's Lake Geneva

2020 Historical Travel Guide is a free supplement presented within the March 2020 issue of *BBC History Magazine* which is published by Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited under licence from BBC Worldwide.

To contact us phone 0117 314 7377,
email historymagazine@historyextra.com
or write to *BBC History Magazine*, Immediate Media,
Eagle House, Colston Avenue, Bristol BS1 4ST

Conditions in tourist destinations can change so we recommend you check the travel advice on the Foreign & Commonwealth Office website prior to booking trips: **fco.gov.uk**

QUEBEC

The Château Frontenac soars above the historic streets of Quebec City's Old Town

Canada's varied history takes a Francophone turn in Quebec, a province where the eponymous capital is an intriguing blend of old Europe and modern North America. Here, overlooking the **Saint Lawrence river**, is a city with a beautiful clifftop setting, and a Unesco World Heritage-listed historic core made up of 17th- and 18th-century buildings, cobbled streets and tranquil squares and gardens.

Most visitors begin in the old **Upper Town**, sitting high above the river. It's a great place to drink-in some spectacular views and visit the **Musée du Fort**, an excellent introduction to the city and region. Another unmissable Quebec institution, the **Musée de la Civilisation**, tells the story of the people of Quebec. A tour of the vast **Hôtel du Parlement** is another only-in-Quebec experience, while the **Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec** is the premier place to head for fine art.

As you might expect of such a French-influenced destination, this is somewhere to visit hungry. Quebec's hinterland produces much of the superb fresh produce served up in its characterful bistros and cafes. For more down-to-earth food try **poutine**, a hefty treat of fries topped with gravy and cheese curds, served in bars across the city. Quebec's wines have been enjoying a resurgence in the past few years, while the province's fast-growing craft beer scene is best sampled in **Lévis**, a picturesque ferry ride across the Saint Lawrence. If you wish to explore further, the historic homes and farmsteads of the **Île d'Orléans** and the pilgrimage town of **St Anne de Beaupré** are great destinations nearby.

IF YOU LIKE THIS…

- **French influence in North America also gave the world the unique destination that is New Orleans.**
- **If Quebec is too far away, then of course France is on our doorstep. Albi, in the Midi-Pyrénées, towers over the Tarn river and is one of the country's sweetest small cities.**

GETTY IMAGES

Amit Chopra
Phil Jones
Georg Trueb
Georg Trueb
Bob Green
Amit Chopra
GREAT JOURNEYS • FASCINATING PLACES
THE RAILWAY TOURING COMPANY

Holidays and UK Day Trips by rail with The Railway Touring Company

We offer a wide range of rail holidays around the world and steam day trips to many wonderful destinations in the UK.

To find out more and to order your free brochures visit our website, **railwaytouring.net** or call us on **01553 661 500**.

23 EST. 1997

Travel Trust Association T726X

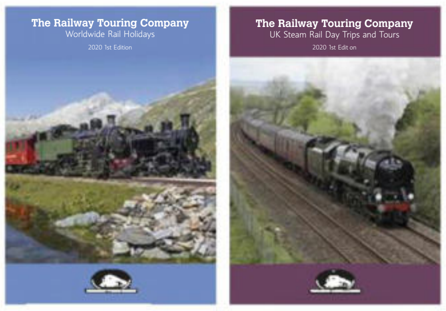
T7149 ATOL PROTECTED

TRAVELLER READER Awards 2017 FINALIST

silvertraveladvisor AWARDS • HIGHLY COMMENDED 2019 •

WINNER SMALL BRITISH TRAVEL AWARDS 2019 BEST RAIL HOLIDAY COMPANY

WINNER SMALL BRITISH TRAVEL AWARDS 2019 BEST ESCORTED TOURS HOLIDAY COMPANY



The Railway Touring Company Worldwide Rail Holidays 2020 1st Edition

The Railway Touring Company UK Steam Rail Day Trips and Tours 2020 1st Edition

The Railway Touring Company,
14a Tuesday Market Place, King's Lynn, Norfolk, PE30 1JN

ONCE EVERY 10 YEARS

Andante
TRAVELS

Intelligent, expert-led tours worldwide

Join us in 2020 and witness the iconic Oberammergau Passion Play.

Prices from £995pp

Call today to request a brochure or visit our website to find out more. **01722 671097** andantetravels.com

+ Plus choose
OR
MP3
bien-dire INITIAL
Montpellier, l'ensoleillée
bien-dire
TUTTO ITALIANO
LEONARDO A TUTTO TONDO
puntoycoma
ISABEL ALLENDE
Free ELECTRONIC DICTIONARY worth £24.99

"Speak French Spanish or Italian as they are really spoken"

Save £34.99

Now you can improve your French, Spanish or Italian with these acclaimed bi-monthly audio magazines for learners of French, Spanish and Italian.

Bien-dire, *Bien-dire Initial*, *Tutto italiano* and *Punto y Coma* are published six times a year from France, Spain and Italy and include a glossy magazine packed full of lively, topical and original articles and in-depth interviews in French, Spanish, or Italian to give you the inside track on French, Spanish, or Italian culture. Key words and phrases are glossed into English on the facing page. The articles, in turn, are narrated on the accompanying 60-minute audio CD to enable you to improve your listening comprehension and understand French, Spanish, or Italian as it's really spoken. In addition, every feature is graded for difficulty so that you can assess your progress with each issue. If you now want to be able to speak like a native, a subscription to *Bien-dire*, *Bien-dire Initial*, *Tutto Italiano*, or *Punto y Coma* will inspire, motivate and help you to achieve fluency.

Bien-dire Initial is published on alternate months to Bien-dire to enable you, should you wish, to subscribe to both French magazines at the same time (12 issues a year, six of each).

Subscribe Today! 100% MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

Subscribe Today for one year just £89 (Normal Price £99) plus receive for FREE an electronic dictionary bookmark worth £24.99--a combined saving of £34.99!

	Magazine + CDs	Magazine + MP3s
01. Bien-dire Initial French Audio Magazine: **Level: Beginner - Intermediate**	☐	☐
02. Bien-dire French Audio Magazine: **Level: Intermediate - Advanced**	☐	☐
03. Punto y Coma Spanish Audio Magazine: **Level: Intermediate - Advanced**	☐	☐
04. Tutto italiano Italian Audio Magazine: **Level: Intermediate - Advanced**	☐	☐

** When ordering decide in what format (CD or Download) that you want the audio programme. As each magazine is published on alternate months there is no overlap in content.*

3 easy ways to order:

UK: 24/7 freephone 0800 141 2210

VISIT www.languages-direct.com/HIST220

Pay by credit card or send a cheque to
Languages Direct Ltd, Spike Island,
133 Cumberland Road, Bristol BS1 6UX, UK

MEDIA REF: HIST220

KOLKATA

While the promise of exploring Kolkata's colonial past may be what springs to mind for many would-be visitors, the city also offers an up-to-date taste of the way the subcontinent is changing. Kolkata is less of an obvious destination than Mumbai and the Golden Triangle, but it's one that deserves more attention than it receives.

Visitors will discover several days' worth of fascinating sights. Begin by ticking off the classic things to do in the city: on foot you can explore the iconic **Victoria Memorial**, the **Maidan** urban park – which includes the famous **Eden Gardens** cricket ground – and the Raj-era buildings clustered around BBD Bagh, once Dalhousie Square. The **Indian Museum** and **St Paul's Cathedral** are two more unmissable highlights, as is the house inhabited by the city's most famous resident, Mother Teresa. All this done, there's the modern city to plunge into – and what a place it is. The **Howrah Bridge**, the chaotic street known as **Rabindra Sarani**, and the **Burrabazar** area teem with people day and night, while the city's markets are also great for watching passers-by.

One of the great treats of visiting Kolkata is exploring its food scene, from the Bengali specialities that are best served here – like paratha and ginger, garlic and cumin-heavy curries – to a new wave of stylish international options. For a (literal) taste of history, try the **Indian Coffee House** just off College Street – once a meeting place for revolutionaries, bohemians and artists, it still possesses a vibrant intellectual atmosphere.

There's no denying that Kolkata remains home to life in the raw, and it would be worth taking a walking tour with a local expert such as Calcutta Walks (*calcuttawalks.com*), who can add some context to what you see around you. It is also a fantastic gateway to India's north-eastern states, themselves fast opening up to tourism.

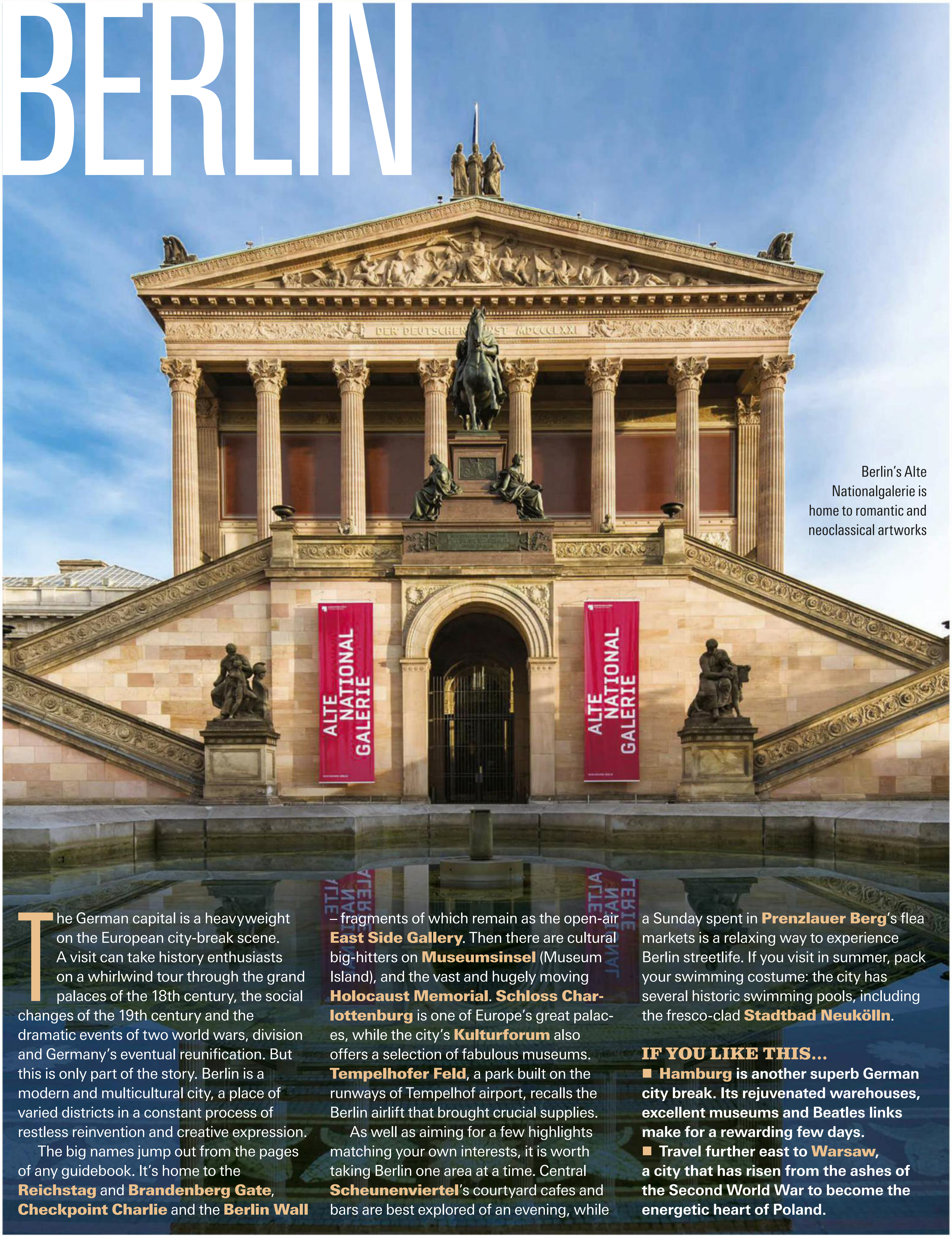
IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **Dhaka, Bangladesh is a hugely varied and historically fascinating capital city bursting with Bengali culture.**
- **Jakarta, Indonesia offers a thrilling dose of urban dynamism, with excellent connections to the more tranquil side of a vast and complex country.**

The breathtaking Victoria Memorial stands at one end of Kolkata's Maidan park

GETTY IMAGES

BERLIN



Berlin's Alte Nationalgalerie is home to romantic and neoclassical artworks

AWL IMAGES

The German capital is a heavyweight on the European city-break scene. A visit can take history enthusiasts on a whirlwind tour through the grand palaces of the 18th century, the social changes of the 19th century and the dramatic events of two world wars, division and Germany's eventual reunification. But this is only part of the story. Berlin is a modern and multicultural city, a place of varied districts in a constant process of restless reinvention and creative expression.

The big names jump out from the pages of any guidebook. It's home to the **Reichstag** and **Brandenberg Gate**, **Checkpoint Charlie** and the **Berlin Wall** – fragments of which remain as the open-air **East Side Gallery**. Then there are cultural big-hitters on **Museumsinsel** (Museum Island), and the vast and hugely moving **Holocaust Memorial**. **Schloss Charlottenburg** is one of Europe's great palaces, while the city's **Kulturforum** also offers a selection of fabulous museums. **Tempelhofer Feld**, a park built on the runways of Tempelhof airport, recalls the Berlin airlift that brought crucial supplies.

As well as aiming for a few highlights matching your own interests, it is worth taking Berlin one area at a time. Central **Scheunenviertel**'s courtyard cafes and bars are best explored of an evening, while a Sunday spent in **Prenzlauer Berg**'s flea markets is a relaxing way to experience Berlin streetlife. If you visit in summer, pack your swimming costume: the city has several historic swimming pools, including the fresco-clad **Stadtbad Neukölln**.

IF YOU LIKE THIS…

- **Hamburg is another superb German city break. Its rejuvenated warehouses, excellent museums and Beatles links make for a rewarding few days.**
- **Travel further east to Warsaw, a city that has risen from the ashes of the Second World War to become the energetic heart of Poland.**

22X
50mm
27X
56mm
CELESTRON
HUMMINGBIRD 50ED
LIMITED LIFETIME WARRANTY
ACTUAL SIZE!

HUMMINGBIRD™

BY CELESTRON®

7-22x50mm ED (shown)
9-27x56mm ED

Available to see and buy from:

Rother Valley Optics	01909 774369
First Light Optics	01392 791000
The Widescreen Centre	01353 776199
Tring Astronomy Centre	01442 822997

To find your local dealer, please visit:

www.celestron.uk.com

Celestron® and HummingBird™ are registered trademarks or trademarks of Celestron Acquisition, LLC in the United States and in dozens of other countries around the world. All rights reserved. David Hinds Ltd is an authorised distributor and reseller of Celestron products.

THE FIRST **TRULY MICRO** ED GLASS SPOTTING SCOPE

FLY A SPITFIRE
BIGGIN HILL
Q

THE ULTIMATE EXPERIENCE

FLY A SPITFIRE

CAA-approved two-seat Spitfire flights from £2750 at the historic RAF Biggin Hill Airfield.

QUOTE HIST100 FOR £100 OFF *Any* SPITFIRE FLIGHT

★ FREE VIDEO OF YOUR FLIGHT
TRIP ADVISOR CERTIFICATE OF EXCELLENCE ★

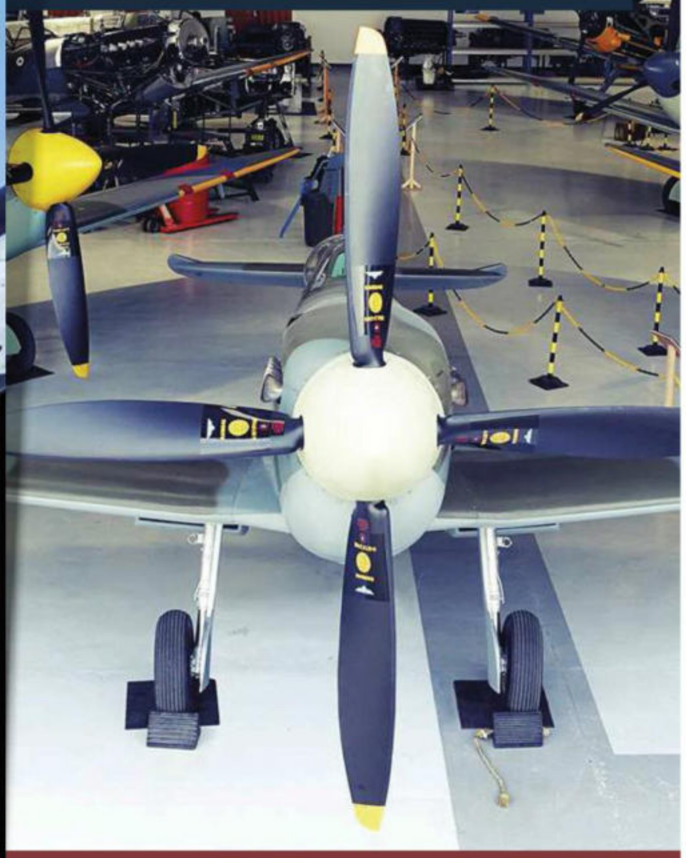
- THE UK'S LARGEST SPITFIRE FLIGHT OPERATOR
- TAKE THE CONTROLS OF OUR COMBAT VETERAN SPITFIRE
- FLY ALONGSIDE UPGRADE OPTIONS FOR GUESTS

www.flyaspitfire.com | 01959 576 767

SPITFIRE SQUADRON

HANGAR TOUR

£39 (ADD A 'SIT IN A SPIT' FOR £30)



BOOK A TOUR NOW AT:

www.bigginhillheritagehangar.co.uk

DUBAI

If the past isn't the first thing that springs to mind when thinking of Dubai, you'd be forgiven. This, after all, is the home of the luxurious **Burj al Arab** hotel, as well as the world's tallest building and its largest shopping mall. Look closer, though, and you'll discover a quiet reverence for traditional culture and the Emirate's past as a fishing and pearling outpost.

The best way to explore Dubai's history is to aim for the **Al Fahidi Historical District**, whose traditional buildings and wandering alleyways evoke another era. You can eat, shop and even stay in guesthouses in this part of town, which offers a contrast to the high-rise accommodation elsewhere. Inside **Dubai Museum**, found in the fort that is the city's oldest building, you can hear more about the development that has pushed Dubai into the world's super-league. The city's still-revered maritime heritage is also preserved in the traditional dhow sailing vessels, which can be seen on and around **Dubai Creek**.

All this will put a fresh perspective on the view from the top of **Burj Khalifa** tower or when hurling yourself into the thrill rides on offer at **IMG Worlds of Adventure**. Fittingly for somewhere that has worked hard to place itself at the centre of new global transport routes, Dubai is hosting the giant world fair of **Expo 2020** later this year, which will bring more visitors to a future-facing destination that is proud of preserving its past.

It's a good idea to take time to brush up on the country's dress code and customs before your visit.

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **An hour or so down the road, Abu Dhabi matches Dubai stride for stride, with world-class shopping, cultural and family attractions and desert adventures.**
- **Muscat in Oman is an evocative and historic capital on the Arabian peninsula, and the gateway to exploring this fascinating country.**

A mosque in Dubai's Al Fahidi Historical District, an area that dates back to the 19th century

AWL IMAGES

ST HELENA

A distant speck in the south Atlantic Ocean, St Helena has a unique past which has never been easier to explore. After years of delays and false starts, the island has since 2017 been connected with Johannesburg, South Africa, and therefore the rest of the world, via weekly flights. In fact, over the festive season, flights go from Cape Town too. This means that St Helena's former lifeline of a Royal Mail ship is a thing of the past; it also means it is now much easier to reach this remote British overseas territory.

Ironically, it is St Helena's most reluctant resident, **Napoleon Bonaparte**, who put the island on the map during his exile and eventual death here. You can still visit his original tomb, though his body was returned to France for burial at Les Invalides in 1840. **Longwood House**, Napoleon's residence on St Helena, is a museum owned by the French government and an essential stop for visitors.

Of course, for many people the appeal is simply saying they have visited St Helena. But there's much more here to justify taking the trip than merely ticking it off a list. For such a small and remote island, it has a huge amount of history to explore – best done in the company of local guides who know the stories of how the slave trade, the East India Company and Boer prisoners shaped St Helena. There's also some fantastic diving, hiking and the chance of an audience with Jonathan, a giant tortoise reputed to be almost 190 years old and the world's oldest living land animal.

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **Distant island outposts with curious histories don't come any more unique than Easter Island, home to hundreds of vast carved moai statues.**
- **If you're on the Napoleon trail, his birthplace island of Corsica is a must-see. Maison Bonaparte, the ancestral family home where he was born in 1769, is now a museum.**

The lush volcanic island of St Helena is now accessible via flights from South Africa

DREAMSTIME

CHICAGO

A staircase in the Rookery Building – one of Chicago's many architectural gems

Chicago can't be easily classified. On one hand its size, situation and history put it in the premier league of American cities. On the other, it can be undeservingly overlooked by overseas visitors who head for New York, Washington and San Francisco. It sits at the vanguard of the US's food, art and architecture scenes and the heart of the Midwestern economy, and is one of the country's most important air and rail hubs.

Start a visit with both art and architecture, best sampled simply by exploring the city's streets and neighbourhoods. As well as the fine art deco buildings and famous **Willis Tower** (once the Sears Tower) visible in Chicago's downtown **Loop** area, check out the work of architects Frank Gehry and Frank Lloyd Wright, which can be explored in and around the city. Visit the vast **Art Institute**, one of several world-class cultural institutions, and **Lincoln Park**, home to the informative **Chicago History Museum**.

Visitors can't claim to have got to know Chicago until they have dived into two different but very compatible local passions: food and sport. Deep-dish pizza is the signature meal, but everything from cutting-edge Polish pierogi to Vietnamese food pays homage to the city's still-evolving immigrant story. Sooner or later, conversation turns to baseball and the fortunes of the local teams, the White Sox and the Cubs. The Cubs' Wrigley Field is the second-oldest major league ballpark in the country and seeing a match here is an iconic Chicagoan – not to mention American – experience.

Lastly, Chicago is a marvellous gateway to the great outdoors. Its location on the shores of **Lake Michigan** is best explored via the 18-mile Lakefront Trail, giving easy access to urban and wilder beaches and some of the city's less touristy neighbourhoods.

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **Bouncing back with a fascinating story to tell, the former boomtown of Detroit retains one of the country's great cityscapes.**
- **A different take on US urban life – with an added dash of beachfront fun and Hollywood glamour – can be found in Los Angeles.**

ALAMY

SYDNEY

Sydney's breathtaking harbourside setting might grab the headlines but it's also home to some of Australia's most fascinating history. This is, of course, where European colonisation of Australia began in earnest with the founding of **Port Jackson** on aboriginal land. It was where convict transportation gave way to settlement, and eventually to Sydney's emergence as one of Australia's economic powerhouses. Today, a visit offers the opportunity to explore one of the world's great cities.

For somewhere at the heart of a relatively young nation, there's a vast amount of history to pick through, from the smuggler-era pubs of **The Rocks** to tours of the **Opera House**, or an exhilarating climb up the **Harbour Bridge**. Meanwhile, the waterfront **Royal Botanic Gardens** offer some respite from the Circular Quay crowds.

Diving into Sydney's neighbourhoods gives more of an insight into local life; essential visits include taking the ferry to **Manly**. You can also stroll the clifftop path between **Coogee** and **Bondi Beach**. Further afield, there is an easy day-trip into the Blue Mountains via a train to art deco **Katoomba**. The amazing forested views from lookout points warrant an overnight stop in a B&B.

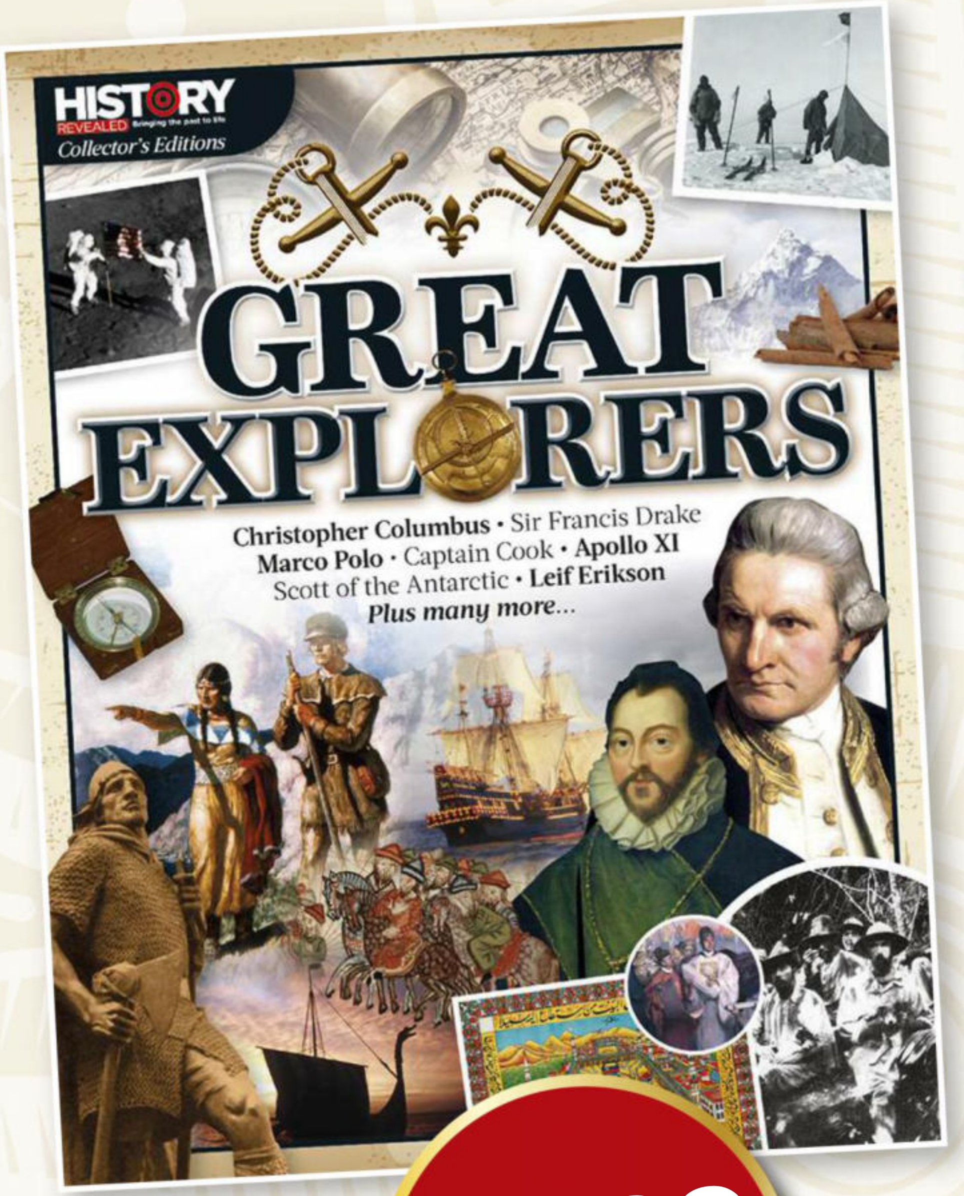
IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **Melbourne must be your next stop for a compare and contrast – just don't tell the locals of either place which one you prefer.**
- **Thousands of miles away on Brazil's east coast, Rio de Janeiro has another spectacular waterside setting.**

The iconic Opera House – one of the jewels in Sydney's crown

AWL IMAGES

From the makers of BBC HISTORY REVEALED


HISTORY REVEALED Bringing the past to life
Collector's Editions
GREAT EXPLORERS
Christopher Columbus · Sir Francis Drake
Marco Polo · Captain Cook · Apollo XI
Scott of the Antarctic · Leif Erikson
Plus many more...

GREAT EXPLORERS

From the Vikings to the Space Race, the story of humankind is entwined with our search for what lies over the hills, across the sea or beyond the stars.

In this special edition from the makers of *BBC History Revealed* magazine, we meet the intrepid travellers whose exploits have made them household names

INSIDE YOU WILL FIND:

- Enthralling tales of discovery
- Maps and illustrations
- Revealing images and expert analysis

PLUS: Subscribers to *BBC History Magazine* receive FREE UK postage on this special edition

£9.99 INC FREE P&P*

THE MAN WHO REDREW THE MAP

PEOPLE – Who were the explorers whose endeavours have shaped history?

100
WHAT HAPPENED NEXT?

PLACES – Beautifully illustrated maps bring journeys of discovery to life

I am alone now, truly alone, and absolutely isolated from any known life
THE LUNACY OF APOLLO 11

TECHNOLOGY – From Viking longships to spacecraft, these are the tools of the explorer's trade

ORDER ONLINE

www.buysubscriptions.com/GreatExplorers20

OR CALL US ON **03330 162 138**† QUOTE CODE **GREAT EXPORERS 2020 PRINT 1**

†UK calls will cost the same as other standard fixed line numbers (starting 01 or 02) and are included as part of any inclusive or free minutes allowances (if offered by your phone tariff). Outside of free call packages call charges from mobile phones will cost between 3p and 55p per minute. Lines are open Mon to Fri 8am – 6pm and Sat 9am – 1pm.

* Subscribers to *BBC History Magazine* receive FREE UK POSTAGE on this special edition. Prices including postage are: £11.49 for all non-subscribers, £12.99 for Europe and £13.49 for the Rest of World. All orders subject to availability. Please allow up to 21 days for delivery.

SWITZERLAND

Nestled within its famed Alpine landscapes, Switzerland's cities, towns and villages offer a unique slice of European history. In some ways, Switzerland is several countries in one, blending linguistic and culinary traditions from French, German and Italian neighbours, together with some that are uniquely Swiss.

The best way to explore Switzerland's historic gems is via a series of train trips that will also showcase the wonderful scenery on offer. Starting in **Geneva**, a city of grand institutions and lakeside charm, the journey to **Bern** winds its way along the lake of the same name and passes through the idyllic Lavaux wine-growing region. In Bern, one of Europe's most charming capitals, there are medieval streets galore, the Federal Assembly's towering parliament and the deep-blue **Aare river** to reward a stopover. At some point, you'll pass through **Zürich**, where a historic centre and the country's best selection of museums and art galleries await. Do take the chance to head south to **Ticino**, the Italian-speaking south of Switzerland, which is home to medieval **Bellinzona** and stately **Locarno**.

At the same time, don't forget to make the most of Switzerland's more stereotypical attractions: try a meal of rösti or fondue, a night or two in an Alpine chalet, and a ride on a cable car. There's plenty of competition for the best one, but the trip up to car-free **Mürren** from **Lauterbrunnen** may just be the most quintessential Swiss experience imaginable.

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **Hop on the post bus from the Swiss border at Buchs or Sargans to Vaduz, picture-postcard capital of the tiny Alpine principality of Liechtenstein.**
- **In addition to a rich history containing Vikings, Second World War occupation and the intrepid adventurer Thor Heyerdahl, Norway boasts spectacular scenery to rival anywhere in Europe.**

Zürich at dawn. Switzerland's largest city is home to a wealth of museums and art galleries

ALAMY

JAPAN

DREAMSTIME

Japan is at once an intensely modern land of neon cities, a place where nature and ancient traditions are revered and observed, and somewhere distinctive and utterly unique. From sushi to *onsen* (hot springs), castles to *ryokan* (traditional inns), it can be hard to separate heritage from everyday life in this peerlessly evocative destination. **Japan's Olympic year** in 2020 will be a wonderful time to visit. Alternatively, to ensure smaller crowds, plan a trip for when the sporting fun and games have died down.

While a long-haul destination, Japan is easy to get to and to explore once you're on the ground. In less than a week you can tour Tokyo and take a bullet train to **Kyoto**, or visit shrines and temples in **Nikkō** and **Kamakura**. If you have more time, extend your horizons to the moving nuclear bomb memorial in the vibrant city of **Hiroshima**, with a detour to the small towns and villages that dot the **Shikoku region**. Alternatively, the far south is home to **Okinawa** and other sub-tropical islands for a beach and surfing fix. Japan's northern island of **Hokkaido** is another popular area for fabulous food (including highly recommended ramen noodles), plus wilderness national parks and villages with steaming *onsen*.

Japan is an affordable destination, especially with planning and advance booking online. Look out for good deals on wifi and breakfast at hotels and guesthouses, especially in more popular areas. To save on flight costs, consider a stopover along the way and visiting outside of peak months – unless you're coming for the summer games, in which case you're here for the trip of a lifetime anyway.

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **San Francisco's Japantown offers a satisfying deep dive into Japanese food and culture while telling the story of Japanese immigration to the US.**
- **Taiwan's combination of postwar development, fantastic food and excellent outdoor activities makes it a highly desirable Asian destination.**

Sunrise at the Tōshō-gū Shinto shrine in Nikkō – just a train ride north of Tokyo

ISRAEL

Layer upon layer of history awaits in Israel. There's nowhere quite like here to demonstrate how the deep past impacts right through to the present. From **Haifa** in the north to **Eilat** in the south, via the beaches and nightlife of **Tel Aviv**, pretty much every dot on the map offers something of significance. The holy, and much-disputed Old City of **Jerusalem**, meanwhile, cannot help but render visitors humble. Once through one of the walled city's gates, cobbled streets lead from one massively significant sight to another, including the **Church of the Holy Sepulchre** and the **Temple Mount** complex, alongside noisy souqs and bustling street stalls.

Downtown Jerusalem offers modern amenities, less touristy places to eat and the city's breadbasket, bustling **Mahane Yehuda Market**. Half-days are required at the huge **Israel Museum** and **Yad Vashem** for sobering Holocaust memorials.

Dragging yourself away from Jerusalem, there are a succession of unmissable stops: a float in the **Dead Sea** and a hike up to the mountain fort of **Masada**, a journey north to **Nazareth**, the **Sea of Galilee**, Roman **Caesarea** and walled, medieval **Akko**, better known as Crusader-era Acre. All this exploring can leave visitors hungry, and Israel's fast-developing food scene, which has real clout on the international stage, offers a roll-call of Middle Eastern classics, modern takes and some surprises.

Israel has an excellent selection of routes from the UK, with both London and Manchester connected via low-cost carrier. Once on the ground, this compact country has an efficient rail and bus network.

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **Neighbouring Jordan's shared history makes it a fascinating counterpart to Israel.**
- **Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, try Cyprus for a mix of beaches, history and mountain scenery.**

Perched high above the Dead Sea, the ancient fortification of Masada is one of Israel's historical highlights

GETTY IMAGES

ANTARCTICA

The interior of Ernest Shackleton's Nimrod expedition hut on Cape Royds

DREAMSTIME

The significance of the great white continent, and its draw for intrepid travellers looking for a true once-in-a-lifetime destination, only increases year-on-year. Those early feats of derring-do, the symbolism to the modern eye of calving icebergs and the vast emptiness of it all make visiting Antarctica a unique prospect. Then there's the journey here: an often stomach-churning boat crossing of the **Drake Passage** from Chile or Argentina, seen as a rite of passage for Antarctica-bound travellers. Once through that, the Antarctic peninsula awaits, with its largely ruined explorers huts.

The bases used by British explorers Scott and Shackleton are at **Cape Evans** and **Cape Royds** on the Ross Sea coast, and not visited on the majority of Antarctic cruises. However, the same mix of isolation, ice, spectacular landscape and inclement weather that greeted those pioneers will be found on any visit to the world's southernmost continent. And then there are penguins, whales and other Antarctic animals, which together contribute to a wildlife photographer's paradise.

Longer cruises south often visit **Grytviken**, the former whaling station on South Georgia where Shackleton emerged, filthy and exhausted, after his fabled boat journey from Antarctica and traverse of the island.

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- **Head north to Greenland, which can be visited on a day trip from Iceland or as part of a longer adventure, for another incredible polar experience.**
- **Dundee, Scotland may seem an unlikely place to tie in to an Antarctic itinerary, but this fast-changing city is home to the historic ship *Discovery*, which was three times a polar expedition vessel.**

PERU

South America's headline ancient site may be as popular as ever, but Peru is about so much more than just **Machu Picchu**. True, a new airport opening near the astonishing Inca mountain remains will bring even more people to its door, but visitors to the nation have been busy uncovering many other wonders from the past.

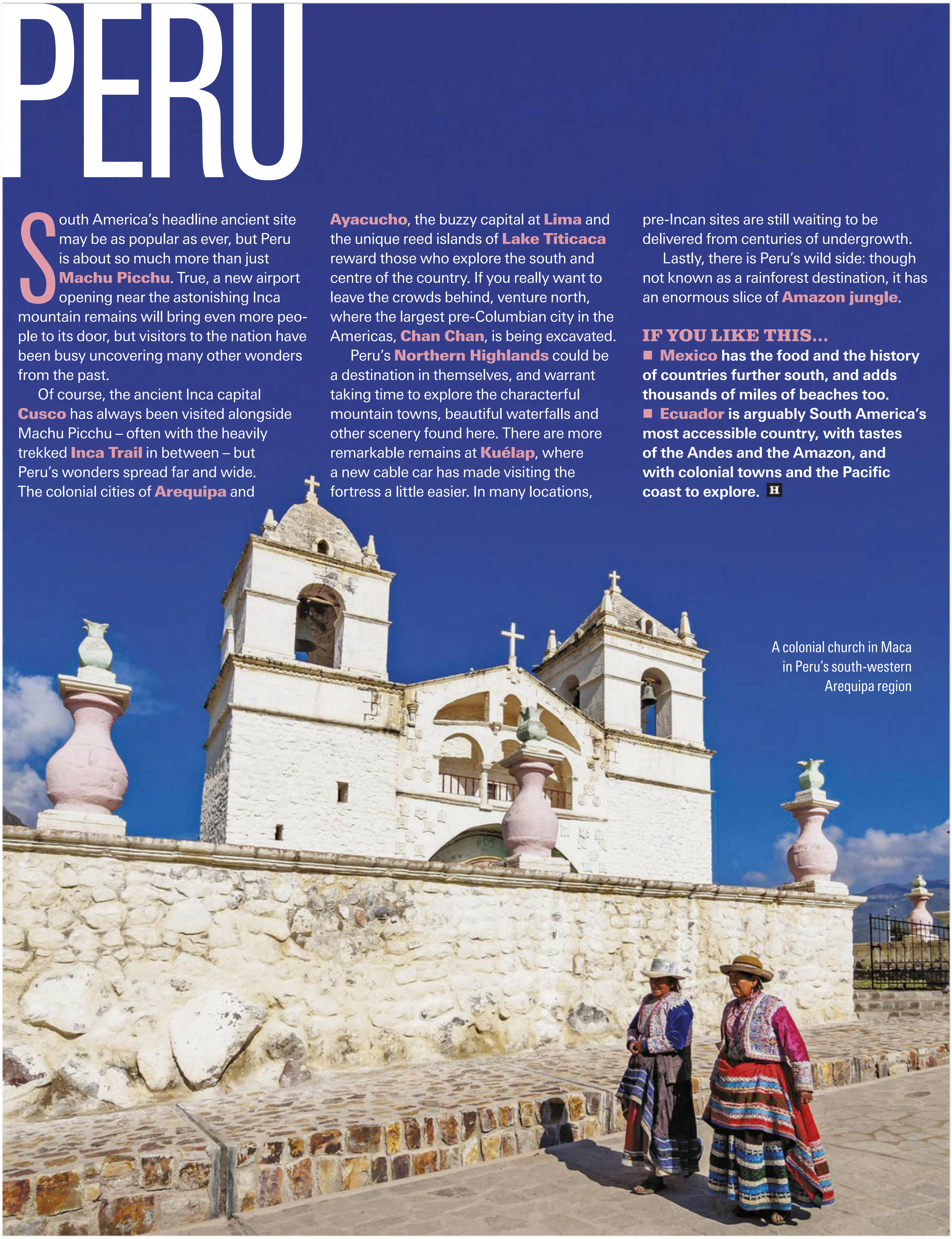
Of course, the ancient Inca capital **Cusco** has always been visited alongside Machu Picchu – often with the heavily trekked **Inca Trail** in between – but Peru's wonders spread far and wide. The colonial cities of **Arequipa** and **Ayacucho**, the buzzy capital at **Lima** and the unique reed islands of **Lake Titicaca** reward those who explore the south and centre of the country. If you really want to leave the crowds behind, venture north, where the largest pre-Columbian city in the Americas, **Chan Chan**, is being excavated.

Peru's **Northern Highlands** could be a destination in themselves, and warrant taking time to explore the characterful mountain towns, beautiful waterfalls and other scenery found here. There are more remarkable remains at **Kuélap**, where a new cable car has made visiting the fortress a little easier. In many locations, pre-Incan sites are still waiting to be delivered from centuries of undergrowth.

Lastly, there is Peru's wild side: though not known as a rainforest destination, it has an enormous slice of **Amazon jungle**.

IF YOU LIKE THIS…

- **Mexico has the food and the history of countries further south, and adds thousands of miles of beaches too.**
- **Ecuador is arguably South America's most accessible country, with tastes of the Andes and the Amazon, and with colonial towns and the Pacific coast to explore.**



A colonial church in Maca in Peru's south-western Arequipa region

AWL IMAGES

just you
solo adventures together

WINNER MEDIUM
BRITISH TRAVEL AWARDS 2019
BEST SINGLES HOLIDAY COMPANY

OVER 15 YEARS OF EXPERTISE

“You'll have an
AMAZING TIME
making new friends
and fun memories

Julia Ballantyne
JUST YOU CUSTOMER”

EARLY BIRD
SAVE
UP TO
£500*
ON 2021 DATES

Travelling solo doesn't mean travelling alone. As experts in worldwide guided touring holidays, we bring together like-minded solo travellers and create unforgettable experiences. Prices start from £699 and our unrivalled guarantees let you book with confidence.

To request a brochure call **0800 987 5199**, visit **justyou.co.uk** or contact your local travel agent

ABTA ABTA No.Y6412 IATA travel aware gov.uk/travelaware ATAS SEARCH **JUST YOU** @JUSTYOUHOLIDAYS

*Terms and conditions apply, please see justyou.co.uk for details. Offer ends 2nd March 2020

DON'T MISS OUT - LIMITED SEATS AVAILABLE ON SELECTED DATES